# Fourth Centenary Volume of the Goa Archives

1595-1995

Editor : S.K. Mhamai

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## (1595 - 1995)

Edited by
S.K. Mhamai

Directorate of Archives and Archaeology,
Government of Goa,
PANAJI, GOA

2001

**Price Rs. : 200/-**

**Published by :**
**S.K. Mhamai**
Director
Directorate of Archives and Archaelogy,
Government of Goa,
Rua de Ourem,
PANAJI, GOA - 403 001.

**Printed at :**
**M/s. Impressions,** Belgaum
Phone : 421232

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# INTRODUCTION

In the article entitled " The Written Word Endangered" in the April 1987 special issue of Goa Today dedicated to the environment, the eminent historian Dr. T. R. D'Sousa who witnessed and participated in the development of the Goa Archives from close quarters during the past three decades and analysed the developmental stages and the short - comings in the Directorate, remarked : " Despite the fact that P.S. S. Pissurlencar was much acclaimed during his lifetime by Portuguese as well as Indian scholars, Goa Archives were little utilised by International scholars, and even less by Indian scholars, till 1961. It was only after the Liberation of Goa that the State Archives underwent a major expansion. The credit for this expansion goes to Dr. V. T. Gune". His word is of experience and revealed the true picture of the vicissitudes of this Archives during the period. His analysis is as sincere and impartial as the records in Goa Archives. It is needless to state that the late V. T. Gune served this Directorate as Director of Archives, Archaeology and Museum for several years and we are indebted to him for his immense contribution for the development of this Institution.

As part of the Fourth Centenary Celebrations of Goa Archives several programmes were planned in the year 1995, when Dr. Shirodkar was the Director and one of which was to bring out a very exhaustive publication highlighting the importance of Goa Archives. Eighty eminent scholars from all over the world were requested to contribute to this volume. We regret that only eighteen papers are on record for inclusion in this prestigious publication. But we are grateful to all those who took the trouble to write.

To begin with in the first paper, Teotonio R. de Sousa has traced the history of record - keeping and the Goa Archives based on the records in the Archives as well as from some related sources, both published and archival. R. S. S. Chauhan delves on the same theme describing the establishment, growth, problems and prospects of the Goa Archives. While O. M. da Silva Cosme has explained the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Goa Archives and has briefly reviewed the sources, both published and unpublished with special reference to Sri Lankan history. J.Velinkar has reminisced about his experiences in the Goa Archives thirty years ago and has given a brief account of the various types of documents.

60 volumes of the Correspondencia de Macau ( 1780-1840 ), one of the major collections in the Goa Archives, have been examined by Rudy Bauss. He emphasises that it is the richest collection in the Goa Archives concerning areas to the east of India and that it contains excellent references to China, the Far East, Southeast Asia, Philippines, Timor and the Indonesian archipelago as well as documentation pertaining to Brazil, Mozambique and Portugal. While Celsa Pinto has provided a glimpse of the sources in the Livros das Alfandegas (Customs Records) covering the 18th and 19th centuries, so as to indicate their research value. She points out that these documents besides recording details on the seaborne and coastal trade of Portuguese India also focus on Goa's inland trade. The old Marathi ( Modi ) manuscripts including both public records and private papers, which have not yet been utilised by research scholars, have been surveyed by S. K. Mhamai. Similarly, Fatima da Silva Gracias has dwelled upon some unexplored records from the Directorate of Accounts. She has paid particular attention to 4 sub-series, in this vast collection, i.e. the records from the Military Hospital, Saude Publica, Obras Pias and Instrução Publica. Charles J. Borges has dealt on some original data for the economic study of the Goa province of the Society of Jesus which is available in the Goa Archives. K. S. Mathew has reviewed a few volumes of the Livros dos Monções and thrown light on various aspects like trade, ship overloading, shipbuilding and urban growth in Cochin. He has also dealt with the contract trade of German and Italian merchant financiers.

P. J. L. Frankl and Yahya Ali Omar have highlighted one folio document from the earliest extinct Swahili prose text so far discovered in the Goa Archives, which reveals the rivalry between the Omanis and the Portuguese. Jaweed Ashraf has discussed the pre-conditions required for and the problems involved in introduction of plants in India. He reveals that the European contribution in respect of economically significant Latin American plants during the medieval period was confined to crop improvement through cultivation of better varieties of plants of European commercial interest that even otherwise were already cultivated in India. Jean-Yves Blot and Maria Louisa Blot have meticulously analysed late XVIIth century Portuguese shipbuilding in India with reference to the fragata 'Santo Antonio de Tanna' which was sunk in action while trying to retake the Fortress of Jesus in Mombassa in 1697.

Rocky Miranda has made a comparative study of Diogo Ribeiro's Konkani dictionary manuscript at the Goa Archives and related manuscripts found elsewhere.

Varied and possible fields of research have been suggested by Timothy J. Coates, G. V. Scammell and Michelle Fuerch and Paul Axelrod.

In the last paper, Mr. Dilip B. Naik has analysed the importance of the records in the Goa Archives with special emphasis on its development and the problems involved in proper preservation of records on modern scientific lines. He has also attempted to provide a glimpse of the new acquisitions to the Archives during the past three decades.

We have included in the volume the papers which were available. However, we are thankful to all contributors of this Publication and to the Staff attached to the Publicaton Unit of the Directorate who played an important role in bringing out this book.

Despite the fact that the work has been delayed for a long time, yet I feel happy that M/s Impressions, Belgaum, has done good work. My thanks to them.

Lastly, it is needless to state that though it took us nearly six years to take up this prestigious work, yet we feel proud to place this book before the scholars.

*S. H. K. Mhamai.*

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# The Vicissitudes and Growth of Goa Archives

*Teotonio R. de Souza*

How far is it possible to trace back the history of the Goa Archives from it's own records? J.M. do Carmo Nazareth, one of those erudite contributors to *O Oriente Português,* a noteworthy journal of the Archaeological Commission of Goa and initiated in 1904, wrote a couple of articles in 1908 on the Goa Archives and its Keepers. There is no point in my repeating what one could read in those scholarly pieces. I shall try to put together what more has been possible to gather about the record-keeping and the Goa Archives in the archives itself, and some related information elsewhere, both published and archival. Incidentally, I was lucky to have had the opportunity to devote nearly two and half years to reading there for my doctoral dissertation during 1972-1975. Life responsibilities did not permit more than occasional short visits thereafter. The present expansion of the Goa Archives complex is due to its former Director, Dr. V.T. Gune, who faced much suspicion and wrath of the local Goan bureaucrats for being one of the so-called "deputationists" imported into Goa from the Maharashtra cadre of civil service soon after the liberation of Goa in 1961. He was accused of wilfully burning some important records of the Portuguese Military Tribunal relating to the freedom struggle. However, the inquiry ordained into the matter seems to have exonerated him. But that is another story that would need more thorough investigation and available documentation.

For our present concern, it suffices to say that the organisational structure of the Archives in 1972 was still very rudimentary and it was even possible to have direct access to the shelves. That is how I could trace many a document that would never be traceable from a faulty or insufficient indication in the official register available to the readers. Thus, for instance, someone utilising the unwieldy series of *Papéis dos Conventos Extintos* could find most disparate and unexpected bits of information therein. *Cod. 7536* is entitled *"Despeza do Colégio de S. Tomas",* but it is actually a sacristy register of Santa Cruz dos Milagres, containing valuable obituaries of Oratorians for the years 1819-1834.[1] Such instances could be multiplied, and in the absence of a revised and updated guide-book, the scholars will continue to trust their luck. Another codex of the same above mentioned series contains the text of a *cartaz* or a shipping safe-conduct issued in the name of

the Viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Távora in August of 1612 to Aga Raja, a Bijapuri Captain of Dabhol.[2] Is it only a mistakenly bound document or did it really have a reason to be among the documents of the suppressed Religious Orders? A reason could perhaps be adduced, namely, that it could have come through the mediation of some Archbishop (who almost always belonged to some Religious Order) functioning as a care-taker Governor or undertaking some official State duty that the time. Thus, for instance, some years earlier, in 1605 the Archbishop was entrusted with the task of conducting an inquiry into some corrupt practices of the Viceroy D. Ayres de Saldanha. The matter being investigated was about the *cartazes* he had been issuing to the King of Cochin, despite public knowledge that the King was involved in illegal pepper trade and forbidden items in ships he sent to Mecca.[3] Such inquiries were normally conducted after the Viceroy or the accused official was no longer in office to interfere with the inquiry procedure, and not all documentation collected for the purpose of the inquiry may have been returned to the concerned State departments. Hence, the possibility of some State documents having remained in the archives of the Religious Order to which the concerned Archbishop belonged, and must have reached the State Archives after the suppression of the Religious Orders. There are other cases more easily explained, such as a document included by me as Appendix A-3 in my *Medieval Goa*.[4] This document too belongs to early 17th century, and it is a notarial deed of money lent by Mr. Gaspar Mendes de Lemos to some residents of Nerul (Nellur) on condition of serving as *mundkars* and residing in the palmgrove belonging to Mr. Lemos until the debt was repaid. Apparently, the palmgrove was given as endowment by Mr. Lemos to the Augustinian friars before the debt was repaid and the *mundkars* went with it. The friars kept the endowment deed along with the title deed with stipulated conditions mentioned above, and both landed in the State Archives following the suppression of the Religious Orders.[5]

The present volume is dedicated to the memory of 400 years of Goa Archives, namely on 25th February 1995. A manuscript of the Archives contains a certificate issued by Diogo de Couto in 1592. We know it from his own *Décadas* that his love for preserving records led him even before he was officially commissioned as Keeper of the "Torre do Tombo" and as the official State Chronicler to note down and preserve documents of historical interest for the Portuguese in the East. However, it is not know what exactly his functions were after his

return from Portugal in 1571 and till his official appointment as Keeper of the Archives in 1595 at his own suggestion in 1589.[6] However, a letter of the King to Count Admiral dated 5.2.1597, inquired about the new house near the *Matricola* for housing the State papers, and also about the qualification and ability of Diogo de Couto to take care of the Archives.[7] Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque had issued an *Alvará* on 25th February 1595 about creating *"Torre do Tombo"* as a separate establishment.[8] Viceroy D. Ayres de Saldanha repeated a legislative order on 13th February 1602 along the same lines for collecting all the State papers and *tombos das aldeias* (village property records).[9] He was carrying out the instructions from the King as issued from Valladolid on 31st January of the same year: *"A Diogo de Couto que esta escrevendo a istoria da India de que o tenho emcarregado vos encomendo deis todo o favor e ajuda que ouver lugar... e por que há alguns anos que tenho mandado fazer em Goa huma casa para servir de tombo em que se recolhão todos os papeis, contratos, cartas e provisões, e sou informado que até gora não he feito, vos encomendo e mando deis ordem como se faça logo por ser cousa que convem a meu serviço e ao bom governo do Estado."*[10] Resistance on the part of local officialdom to implement the royal orders was partly due to the fact that Diogo de Couto was not of noble birth and had been known for his hostile criticism of *fidalgos.*[11] Many of Couto's manuscripts were stolen for this reason. M. Rodrigues Lapa, who edited his *O Soldado Prático* in 1937, commented about this critical attitude of Couto: *"O amor da verdade* é *em Couto uma espécie de vício"*. He had naturally earned many enemies in the official and unofficial circles.

We come across a reference to Domingos de Barros as *"guarda-mor da torre do tombo"* in 1609.[12] How come, if Diogo de Couto is reputed to have been in charge from the time of his appointment till his death in December 1616? Or did he function at times only as official chronicler, and the two posts were separated to give him more time to devote to his history-writing? Or is it a wrongly written name and date, confusing with Domingos de Castilho (in 1619, not 1609?), who took over from another immediate successor of Diogo de Couto, namely Gaspar d' Ayres, who was considered incapable for the job by D. Jerónimo de Azevedo, but was in turn accused of being incapable by the Viceroy Count of Redondo, even though Castilho was married to his niece? There were at least three other Keepers appointed in quick succession till Antonio Bocarro occupied the post and left a well-known contribution. Bartholomeu Galvão was in that position by an

appointment of the Count of Vidigueira but was not yet confirmed in the office. The acting Governor, Bishop Fr. Luis de Brito, suggested bifurcation of the jobs of Archivist and Chronicler, and recommended to the King in 1629 that Francisco Moniz de Carvalho be made the Keeper of Archives in substitution of Bartholomeu Galvão against whom he had a court case. This was done only much later in 1647,[13] and a fresh candidate, Antonio Bocarro, was appointed Archivist and Chronicler by Count of Linhares in 1631.[14] The confidential report of the Viceroy to the King about the State Officials in 1635 describes: *"Antonio Bocarro guarda-mor da torre do tombo deste Estado e Chronista delle procede com satisfação em seu serviço e em outra matterias de que o encarrego fora delle, nas descripções das fortalezas deste Estado que este anno envio a Vmge. teve grande trabalho e as fez com muita diligencia e cuidado."*[15] In 1636 he had a salary of 250 *xerafins* for being "Guarda-mor" and "*Chronista*". It is mentioned that it was half the amount that was paid to Diogo de Couto.[16] Following his death, Francisco Moniz seems to have tried to join the two jobs in his person. He found the opposition of Antonio Ferreira, father-in-law of Antonio Bocarro, who claimed the post should devolve in him and was awaiting confirmation.[17] But the royal letter favoured Francisco Moniz, apparently on charitable grounds, for being over 60 and *"quazi entrevado"* and suggested some other substitute compensation for the wife and daughter of Antonio Bocarro for services rendered by the Chronicler. What is more astonishing is that Francisco Moniz, who was already judged by a judgement of High Court to be unfit to be a Chronicler and could be only kept as Archivist,[18] succeeded in being appointed as Archivist and Chronicler till he was 70 and had written nothing.[19]

As reported to Lisbon authorities in 1667, the Viceroy requested that he be allowed to find a Jesuit or some other competent Religious to resume the official history with the nominal stipend of 100 *cruzados.* In the same letter, the Viceroy described the pitiable state of the Goa Archives.[20] A certain Antonio Gil Preto was then appointed as Chronicler, but no work of his pen is known.[21] The job of the Keeper of Archives was separated from that of the Chronicler and around 1669 Antonio Mattos Soeiro was appointed to serve this post during his life time.[22] This situation gives us an insight into the mediocre state of affairs at the Goa Archives at the close of the 17th century. With incapacity of men and capacity of tropical weather, it is not surprising to believe the following report from a State Secretary who sought to compile in 1688

a list of all the legislation issued by the Viceroys from the time of D. Antão de Noronha to D. Francisco de Tavora. Luis Gonçalves Cotta reported: *"Fazendo toda a diligencia nos livros da Secretaria por ver se achava algumas ordens dos Senhores Reis de Portugal em que concedem aos Vreys e Governadores da India poderes e jurisdição para fazerem leis e derrogar as ordenações, não me foy possivel descobrir alguma que fallace nesta matéria, suposto que não posso afirmar com serteza que as não ouve, porque faltão muitos livros antigos da Secretaria que se consumirão com o tempo, outros apodrecerão por se molharem com agoa que lhe cahio em huma invernada nos annos passados por se abater huma caza em que estavão, e ficarão alguns com a letra tão apagada que mal se pode ler..."* [23]

Ms 1425 entitled *Miscellania (1768-1805)* is the first of the 2 codices with this designation, and at fl. 84 gives us some idea of the state of record-preservation at the Archives : *"Não se acha nesta Contadoria Geral memoria alguma do alcanse do Francisco de Costa Soares, Feitor que foi de Chaul, cujos livros e papeis se corromperão pela humidade que apanharão com outros inumeráveis no depózito da caza do Estanco Real, para onde se havião mudado do Arquivo dos Contos, não obstante decorrer noventa e hum annos dezde 1715 em que occupou aquelle cargo".* It is a report signed by Vicente Salvador Roiz and written in Goa on 16th June 1806.[24] A. Baião quotes the correspondence of the Viceroy Count of Sarzedas six years later with reference to the documents of the Inquisition: *"Como se achou ser uma coisa imensa os papeis que compunham o archivo d'aquele tribunal, e que na secretaria do estado não havia lugar onde eles pudessem ser arrecadados, como eu tinha determinado, ordenei que ficassem em uma casa do arsenal real, metidos em grandes sacos, signetados com armas reaes por um inquisidor e fechada a casa com tres chaves, das quaes eu fiquei com uma, outra na secretaria e outra na mão do intendente da marinha..."* and continued: *"Será justo que S.A.R. determine o que quer se faça destes imensos processos e papeis e, como eu estou persuadido que não é conveniente que eles tornem as ser vistos por pessoa alguma, parece-me que seria justo manda-los queimar".*[25] Baião is of the opinion that most of the papers were burnt, possibly after some kind of a limited weeding as ordered from Portugal.

But climate or insects were not always the only enemies of the preservation of records in State Archives or Church archives in Goa.

Some material did not go there, but fortunately has still been preserved elsewhere. Thus, for instance, the Ms 2750 entitled *Inventários* (1835-1862) contains lists of the books taken from the libraries of the suppressed Religious Orders and transferred to the State Library. The Librarian is named as Antonio Manuel Soares da Veiga. From what we know, also some manuscript volumes dating back to the 17th century were included in this transfer and are even today preserved in the Central Library.

Ms. 1843 is a *Regimento das Communidades* that was ordered by a royal letter of 8/4/1732 to Viceroy Count of Sandomil. Incidentally, the first page of the book is bound at the end of it. There are many such cases, including papers that concerned my family in Moira (Goa) and bound in a book belonging to Daman. There are also wrong titles on spines of the bound books, while the contents have nothing to do with those titles. But returning to the codex in question, it contains several clauses (13 to 15) which give an idea about the control of village administration through written records on officialised registers. At the time when the State Archives was created and given its rules, it was also ordered that all village records ought to be brought to the Archives. The *Tanadar-mor* was asked on that occasion to send clerks to villages to prepare translations of village records into Portuguese before transferring them to the State Archives.[26] This does not concern the *Forais* or *Tombos* that were produced from time to time, but the normal administration of the villages, including the proceedings of village councils, the auctioning of lands and village services, collection of village dues, etc. Incidentally, until around 1629 Marathi and old Kannada script continued to be used for writing the village records in Goa, though since 1614 Portuguese language was being forcefully introduced through legislation for this purpose and as it can be understood in the context of the creation of the State Archives.[27] Even though this measure seems to have been quite effectively executed, it is not very clear if earlier malpractices of bypassing the official books and using loose sheets or tearing pages of official books were also satisfactorily checked.[28] Cod. 1183 with *Provizões dos Vice-Reis* contains a *regimento* issued by the Chief Revenue Controller to the clerks of Salcete villages in 1602 and refers to these malpractices and measures stipulated to check them. As soon as the year's accounts were closed, the books were to be kept in safe custody of Rachol fort. In Bardez and Ilhas the books had to be submitted to the clerk of the Revenue Department in the capital.[29] This was the situation about fifty

years after that *regimento* was issued, and besides there seems to have been a problem of parallel book-keeping going on and the central revenue registry could not find a clear list of State approved clerks for the villages.[30]

Village church records (not village *communidade* records) were usually under the control of the Archbishop, and many of them can today be found in the *Paço Patriarcal.* Unfortunately, most of the early records of the 16th and 17th centuries are not there, and even the more recent ones are in poor state of preservation. They seem to have been partly microfilmed recently with the assistance of the *Fundação Oriente,* but it is hoped that a more wide-ranging action will be undertaken to ensure the preservation of this valuable archive, as well as many old documents still surviving in some of the parish archives of Salcete. It is important that a systematic cataloguing is done of these parish records. Only a rapid survey was possible for me in 1978 with the permission of the Church authorities and it resulted in the presentation of a report in the form of a paper contributed to the First International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History held in Goa in December that year.[31] However, in the case of Bishop's archives also many of the earlier and later records have disappeared through human agencies. In response to an order of the metropolitan Government, the Archbishop of Goa handed over many early records to be shipped to Portugal in 1775. It is not known where they finally landed.[32] Also more recently Archbishop José Maria da Silva Torres, who governed the Archdiocese during 1844-49 took away records covering his period of administration to write his autobiography, and we do not know if these records were ever returned.[33]

We arrive finally to the early part of this century when Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, the Advisor on Records-Keeping to the Government of Bengal in 1925 (later the Keeper of the National Archives), visited the Goa Archives in 1925.[34] He acknowledges the assistance he received from Mr. Pissurlencar who was already utilising the State records for publishing historical essays in the form of *Antigualhas* in the above mentioned journal *O Oriente Portugues* and elsewhere also in Marathi. It was through the recommendation of this reputed officer of British India that Pissurlencar was raised to the category of the Curator of the Goa Archives in 1931, and from what Surendra Nath Sen had described as "deplorable state" of the Archives, Pissurlencar could transform it into a more cared repository of records.[35] But lack of efficiently trained and more dedicated cadre, insufficient funds, and undefeatable climate

apparently continue to be the ongoing defiers to a greater improvement of the archival facilities. However, the recent 2 decades of the efforts of Dr. V.T. Gune, and various activities undertaken by the Directorate have helped the needs of scholars and others consulting this important repository of historical documentation despite all the odds. I hope that a recent significant investment of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in enhancing the reprography facilities of the Goa Archives will be put to good use and thereby ease further the problem of the scholars and other clients of the archives in this regard. And, finally, as a devotee of archives, I can only wish ever more improvement and better future for the Goa Archives where I was initiated in my research.

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3. *Monções do Reino 6B,* HAG, fls. 120 ff.
4. De Souza, T.R., *Medieval Goa,* New Delhi, Concept Publ. Co., pp. 222-224.
5. Ms 3041, *Papeis dos Conventos Extintos,* HAG fl. 275.
6. MR 5, HAG, fl. 47 contains the *Alvará régio* which refers to Diogo de Couto as already writing the *Historia da India,* and orders the Viceroy to make available a decent house to serve as Archives and to provide a salary of 300 pardaus to Diogo de Couto as its Keeper. This alvará is dated 25th Feb. 1595. However, the fl. 60 of the same Codex and dated 13th Feb. 1602 continues to refer to the old order and insists that all documentation of the State of India should be transferred to the Archives. The documentation listed includes the papers of *Chancellaria, tombos* or land registers of villages of Tiswadi, Salcete and Bardez, which were in the possession of the parish priests, and all the registers of *despachos. Cf. also* Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *Diogo de Couto e a Decada 8ª da Asia,* II, Lisboa, 1994, pp. 270-73.
7. MR 4, HAG, *fls. 759 & v.*
8. MR 5, HAG, *fls. 46v-47.*
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12. Ms. 1043, *Consultas No. 3* HAG *(1618-1652), fls. 32, 35v-36v.*
13. TdT: *Doc. Remetidos da India, n. 57, fl. 312* (Lxa. 12.04.1647). He seems to have returned to his post as Keeper of Archives in 1643. Following the death of Bocarro?

14. Ms 1041, *Consultas, Nº 1*, HAG *fls. 39-41*. lists the services of Bocarro from the time of his arrival in India in 1615. He seems to have died in 1642 or 1643. Bocarro is known for his *Decada XIII*, ed. R.J. de Lima Fęlner, 2 vols., Lisboa, 1876, and for the *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades, e Povoações do Estado da India Oriental*, ed. A.B. de Bragança Pereira, *Arquivo Portuges Oriental, IV, v.II, p. 1-3*, Bastora, 1937-38. A edição inclui mapas do Pero Barreto Rezende, reproduzidos do codice de Paris.

15. MR *19B*, HAG, *fl. 605*.

16. *Finanças No. 2 (Cod. 1370)*, HAG *fls. 49v-50v*. Carries an autograph signature of Antonio Bocarro.

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18. MR 13B, HAG *fl. 310*.

19. Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental, VI, doc. 588*.

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21. *Ibid.*, doc. 201.

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25. Baião, A., *A Inquisição de Goa*, I, Lisboa, 1949, pp. 14-16.

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27. Ghantkar, G., *An Introduction to Goan Marathi Records in Halakannada Script*, Margao, 1973. An updated and enlarged version of the study was produced more recently by the author, and is entitled *History of Goa through Goykanadi Script*, 1993. He refers to a viceregal order in a village book of 1614 fixing a 2-year limit for the village clerk to stop writing in "letra da terra" and to use Portuguese language instead. But the script seems to have survived till about 1629. *Ibid.* p.x.

28. I could discover recently in the British Library some rare *Confessionários* or confessional aids in Konkani produced by the Jesuits in the late 16th-early 17th century Salcete, and among other interesting questions there is reference to the practice of tearing pages of the village record books to cheat the Treasury. An introduction to these Confessionários will soon appear as my article entitled "Uns Confessionários Inéditos: Instrumentos de Missionação e Fontes para a historia socio-economica de Goa", in a *festschrift* dedicated to Prof. Verissimo Serrão, in Lisbon.

29. Torre do Tombo (Lisboa), *Junta da Fazª Publica — Estado da India, Lº 2, fls. 262v-263* (1660).

30. *Ibid.*, fl. 262.

31. De Souza, T.R., "The Voiceless in Goan Historiography: A Case for the Source-Value of Church Records in Goa", *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso, Bombay, 1981, pp. 114-131. Since then more attention has been paid to this archive, and very recently Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes submitted a doctoral dissertation to *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, utilising

quite thoroughly the manuscripts of the Pastoral Visits to which I had drawn special attention in my paper in 1978.

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# Goa Archives : Its Origin, Growth, Problems and Prospects

*R.R.S. Chauhan*

The tiny land of Goa which is famous today mainly as a tourist paradise because of its fascinating landscape, scenic beauty and long beaches, was well-known to mankind even during the pre-historic period. The land finds mention in the Bhismparva of the great epic Mahabharata and in the Puranic and contemporary literature like Skandapurana and Harivamsa. During ancient time, it was known variously as Gomanchala, Gomanta, Gopakpura, Gopakpattam and Gove.[1] Ever since ancient times till the Portuguese occupation in 1510, Goa figured quite often in the current of events that shaped the history of India. A span of 450 years of Portuguese rule in Goa marked the synthesis of Eastern and Western culture which had a flavour of its own.[2] Further, the Portuguese left behind some of their earliest institutions and that is how Goa is credited to have witnessed the establishment of the first municipality (1511)[3] and first printing press (1550)[4] in India. It is also interesting to note that today's Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum at Panaji is the oldest surviving archives in the country. Established in India in 1595 with the famous historian Diogo de Couto, the first Records Keeper of the Archives named then as the *Torre do Tombo do Estado da India.*[5].

Ever since its establishment, Goa Archives has undergone various changes in its location and nomenclature. Originally, the Archives was attached to the office of Portuguese Viceroy at old city of Goa. But once the Viceroy's office shifted from Old Goa to Panelim in 1695 and thence to the erstwhile Palace of Adilshah at Panaji (the present Secretariat) in 1795, the Archives also followed the administrative set-up and later formed part of this building.[6] In 1930, the name of the Archives was changed to *Arquivo geral e Historico da India* and a few years later in 1937 its name was again changed as *Cartorio do Governo Geral do Estado da India.* In 1953, a separate Directorate of Historical Archives was developed by the painstaking long efforts of the late Dr. P.S.S. Pissurlencar, a close friend of the celebrated historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar[7]. Two years later in 1955, a separate building of Archives situated at Mala (Panaji) near People's High School was inaugurated and renamed as *Arquivo Historico do Estado da India.*[8].

With the liberation of Goa came yet another change in its nomenclature and henceforward the Archives was rightly called as *Historical Archives of Goa.*

Keeping in view, the historical importance of records holdings available in the Archives, Government of India appointed a Committee in 1963 for reorganising it on modern principles of archival science. As a result of its recommendations, a new archives building replacing the old one came up. The Committee's recommendations were further instrumental in creating three more units namely Management, Preservation and Research and Publication within the Archives. A year later, the National Archives of India took over the Historical Archives of Goa under its control and it was in 1969 that the local Government retook it once again in its hands. In 1970s, two more wings namely, Archaeology and Museum were added to the Archives causing the latest change in its name and since then it is called as *Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Panaji, Goa.*

The construction of the present double-storeyed building[9] has been completed in two phases. While phase I of it was inaugurated on 19th June, 1980, phase II could be completed in 1987.[10] Phase I houses the stack area and Preservation unit on both the floors. While the ground floor of phase II has Seminar Hall, Exhibition Hall, Administrative Office, Research Hall, and chamber of the Director, the first floor of it comprises of Library Hall, Research and Publication Unit, Management unit. The Archaeological wing is in the State Museum at Panaji.

**SHORT SURVEY OF RECORDS SERIES :**

At the time of Goa's liberation in 1961, Goa Archives had nearly 20,000 volumes of records in its custody. Most of these records are in Portuguese, though quite a few documents are also in Marathi (Modi), English, Persian, French, Sanskrit and Vietnamese The oldest Portuguese document came to light recently and it pertains to the year 1498 in which Vasco da Gama discovered the famous sea-route to India. Presently, the Archives has in its holdings more than 2,00,000 volumes and the number is likely to rise as the huge bulk of records left behind by the Portuguese is being sorted out regularly to be finally amalgamated with the existing volumes.[11] The real value of these documents was disclosed by the great historian, the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar for the students of Indian history when he strongly recommended that the work of Dr. P.S.S. Pissurlencar entitled "Portuguese and Marathas" published in 6 parts during 1926-1940 be translated. It was

for the first time that Indian scholars came to know about many facts of Indian history so far unknown and untapped. The records throw a flood of light not only on Portuguese relations with the Indian principalities of the time but on various activities of the European, Asian and African powers as well. Some of the important series of records are as follows :

## MONÇÕES DO REINO (MONSOON CORRESPONDENCE FROM KINGDOM) :

This series covers a period from 1586-1914 and contains the largest collection in Goa Archives. In it, one finds letters, instructions, orders, charters, etc., received at Goa from Lisbon yearly during the monsoon of September-October together with the reports and replies from Goa forwarded to Lisbon in the months of December-March. They cover almost all about Portuguese expansion and administration in Asia, their trade rivalries with the Arabs and European powers and relations with India, South Asian and East African powers. Though there is a lacuna in the series from 1605-1612 and another from 1618-1628, it throws a welcome light on socio-cultural, political, religious and commercial aspects. The documents deal with the Mughals, Marathas, Rajputs, Siddis, Sultans of Mysore, Angrias, Adilshahas, Nizamshahas as well as with the British, Dutch, French, Arabs, Africans, Chinese, Japanese, etc., and hence they bear an international character in themselves. No scholar of Indo-Portuguese history can afford to ignore this series.

## REIS VIZINHOS (NEIGHBOURING KINGS) :

This series of 22 volumes covers a period from 1619-1842 and mainly deals with the Indian principalities. Though there is a gap of nearly 42 years in it from 1620-1662, the series is extremely useful for studies in Indian history. Many documents from this series have been published. But since the publications have been brought out in Portuguese, they deserve to be translated into English for Indian scholars.

## CONSELHO DO ESTADO (PROCEEDINGS OF THE REVENUE COUNCIL OF STATE AT GOA) :

This series covers a period from 1618-1750 in 9 volumes and is very helpful in reconstructing the political history of the Portuguese empire in India as political matters were discussed openly by the nominated councillors in presence of the Viceroy. The series has been

published by Dr. P.S.S. Pissurlencar in 5 volumes but in Portuguese. However, Dr. V.T. Gune, Ex-Director of Goa Archives, has provided the translation of subjects of these documents separately in the form of index.

## ASSENTOS DO CONSELHO DA FAZENDA (PROCEEDINGS OF THE REVENUE COUNCIL) :

This series in 24 volumes covers a period from 1613-1808. A few volumes have indexes either at the beginning or at the end. However, most of the documents bear headings summing up their contents and this facilitates the work. Mainly, it contains decisions arrived at by the Council regarding purchase of foodgrains, minting, exchange rates, salaries, ship-building and repairs, customs duties, sea-traffic, collection of revenues etc. Volume I, part I covering the period from 1613-1618 has been published by Dr. V.T. Gune, with detailed English summaries of each document in 1980.

## SENADO DA GOA (MUNICIPALITY OF GOA) :

This extensive series of 178 volumes is classified into nearly two dozens of sub-series. It also includes many of the earliest original documents of Goa Archives. Its volume MS 7795 contains copies of bye-laws framed in 1618 regulating all the market activities. Since these bye-laws remained in force for centuries with minor variations, the volume is an important source material for studying socio-economic conditions of Goa. I have prepared detailed summaries of each bye-law into English and they have been published. In short, the whole gamut of business life of a medieval city is reflected in this series.

## LIVROS DAS COMMUNIDADES (VILLAGE COMMUNITY RECORDS) :

This is perhaps the only series amongst Indian repositories speaking about the ancient system of village autonomy in India. Though the Portuguese took away judicial powers of these bodies, they contained the matters of the governance of agriculture and supplied the Government with yearly contribution in the form of land revenue. The old practice and usages of village administration in Tiswadi island were codified by the Portuguese in 1526. There are in Goa Archives more than 1,000 volumes pertaining to various village communities covering the period from 1582-1887. To understand the nature of our village administrations, the series unfolds a special treasure for scholars.[12]

## PRESERVATION AND PUBLICATIONS :

The historical importance of the records mentioned above brings before us, the issue of their proper preservation. Preserving records on modern scientific lines could start in Goa Archives in 1973. Today, all the documents that are damaged due to biological or environmental reasons are reinforced scientifically by trained officials. With the acquisition of modern equipment like microfilming camera, copying camera, microfilming processor with drier, automatic record printer, etc., the Archives is in a position to supply certified photocopies, microfilms, xeroxed copies, etc. to general public, freedom fighters, scholars and government agencies at a reasonable cost and time.[13]

Publishing records is yet another important activity of the Goa State Archives. Interestingly, a lot of publications containing thousands of historical documents had been brought out during the Portuguese period of Goa. However, they have not proved very useful to Indian scholars or historians because the publications were always in Portuguese language. Today, the Research and Publication Wing of Goa Archives has a regular programme of publishing historical records, well-researched articles, Portuguese Paleography covering subjects like numismatics, art, architecture with a special reference to Goa, Daman and Diu and other erstwhile Portuguese colonies in its six-monthly research journal called *Purabhilekh-Puratatva.*[14] Arranging seminars, conferences, exhibitions of documents, etc. is also done by this wing.

## PROBLEM OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT AND ITS SOLUTION :

The gains of Goa's freedom from foreign rule are numerous and they indicate the beginning of an era of all round progress. However, the problem of managing records systematically after Goa's liberation has not attracted the attention it deserves. It is this field where the responsibilities of Goa Archives unlike any other Archives in India have further increased with the completion of over 3 decades of Goa's Administration. The Archival Policy Resolution of 1983 clearly states that "All records and files selected for permanent preservation should be transferred to Goa Archives 25 years after being closed or recorded"[15]. In simple terms, Records Management Programme guarantees that unnecessary records are not created and necessary records are well-maintained, and the records which have served their purpose are disposed off timely. It also achieves economy and efficiency in the creation, maintenance, use and disposal of records during their

entire life cycle. However, targets of economy and efficiency should be balanced so that proper documentation of organisations, policies and transactions is achieved adequately.

Unfortunately, this has not been translated into action in Goa because Portuguese administrative system was different from ours and it was but natural for the newly liberated territory to take sufficient time in order to re-integrate fully with the motherland and follow the mainstream of its administration. The problem of records management, however, has surfaced there with a new challenge as non-current records of permanent value are not coming into Goa Archives speedily. This is a serious matter. Until and unless the records creating agencies in Goa send their non-current records bearing permanent value to Goa Archives nothing can salvage this most precious cultural wealth which is the only authentic proof of Goa's all round progress after liberation. Further, the records creating agencies would not be in a position to send their records to the Archives unless they are appraised. Again, the records cannot be appraised orderly in the absence of Records Retention Schedules which indicate the periods for which particular classes or categories of records are to be preserved.

That is why the Government of Goa should bring out and follow a Manual of Office Procedure incorporating in it the entire functioning of Government offices in order to regulate and streamline the documentation. Since Goa has been a Union Territory for long and followed Central Government's administration, it would be convenient to follow the schedule of retention periods as far as records common to all Departments covering subjects like establishment, personnel and house-keeping matters are concerned. This schedule has been issued by the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, Government of India. Similarly, the records concerning accounts may be covered by the instructions contained in Appendix 13 of the General Financial Rules issued by the Ministry of Finance, Government of India. However, each Ministry/Department/ Office will have to compile a departmental retention schedule for its records concerning substantive functions, if an order in managing the records is to be established. This retention schedule will prescribe periods for which files/records dealing with specified subjects are to be preserved in consultation with Goa Archives. National Archives of India, being a nodal agency in the field of archival science, could provide any guidance in this regard.

As a matter of fact, Archival Policy Resolution issued by Goa Administration in 1983 has hardly made an impact on any Ministry or Department. Under these circumstances, who will be responsible for maintaining semi-current records, periodical appraisal and elimination of ephemeral records and for orderly and systematic transfer of permanent records of Goa Archives? Moreover, there is hardly an ideal Departmental Records room to name in a Ministry/Department. It is for this reason that the question of appointing a trained Departmental Records Officer has not arisen there. Unfortunately, Records Management unit of Goa Archives is handicapped for not having properly trained officials to put the Records Management system on a sound footing there. Goa Archives, however, has done its bit by arranging two short-term archival courses in 1980 for the officials dealing with records/files in various Departments including the Secretariat. Though the courses were successful in creating some archival consciousness among participants, they failed to get the desired results partly because the duration of courses was only of two weeks and mainly because the experts from National Archives of India were not associated with these courses.[16]

The condition of Goa's Secretariat in this regard appears no better because a very valuable space meant for administrative staff has been occupied awkwardly by files/registers/records etc. at all levels, and it has already become a problem to provide proper sitting place for the officials. It would be worthwhile to mention here some interesting and relevant findings of National Archives of India. In 1975, the National Archives of India estimated that keeping of each file costs the Government Rs. 1/- per annum only for storage.[17] Today, if its maintenance and upkeep costs are added to it, the figure would go much higher. Goa is certainly no exception to this because accommodation is as costly there as it is in Delhi, Madras, Mumbai and Calcutta. Therefore, to impart proper training to officials concerned with management of records in Goa seems to be the only answer. This training can be imparted by the School of Archival Science run by the National Archives of India and duly recognised by the UNESCO. This is the only institution in Asia that has been conducting training programme in various fields of Archival Science including Records Management for several years. It has rendered a commendable job to the Asian countries by training their Archivists/Records Officers. This step, it is felt, would ensure that no records of permanent value are lost due to negligence.

In order to ensure that important records bearing permanent value reach Goa Archives and records of ephemeral value are destroyed timely, a Departmental Records Room is needed to handle the semi-current records systematically. However, in case of Goa, it would neither be economical nor necessary for a tiny State to provide a Departmental Records Room in each and every office. The semi-current records of each Ministry/Department/Office may be kept in the Records Room of Goa's Secretariat. However, care is to be taken that they are looked after only by trained officials. Since Goa is yet to construct the building for its Secretariat, the arrangement of a large Records Room there could solve this problem.

The last but not the least would be the action if each Ministry/ Department is asked to prepare its organisational history incorporating in it the progress and changes that have taken place after the liberation of Goa.

Let future generations say that Goa looked after its cultural heritage well after rejoining the motherland.

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3. *Dicholkar, M.L.*, article on "The Municipality of Goa" published in *Goan Society Through the Ages*, B.S. Shastry, Asian Publication Services, New Delhi, 1980, p. 139.
4. Priolkar, A.K., *The Printing Press in India, Marathi Sanshodhan Mandal*, Bombay, 1958, pp. 13-14.
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8. *Indica*. Vol. I, Heras Institute Bombay, 1964, p.48.
9. Gune, V.T. *Quarterly Newsletter of Goa Archives, Archaeology and Museum*, (Panaji, 1977), Vol. I No. 1. pp. 1-3.
10. The writer has worked at Goa Archives as Archivist (Publication) during 1979-1988 and collected this information personally.
11. See Dr. V.T. Gune's *Guide to the records*, op.cit., and P.S.S. Pissurlencar's *Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa*, Bastora, Goa, 1975 for details.

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13. *Naik, Dilip. B.* Note on Preservation Unit of Goa Archives in *Newsletter,* op.cit., Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4., pp. 59-64.
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16. *Newsletter,* op. cit., Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4, pp. 3, 65.
17. *The Indian Archives,* New Delhi, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1980, p. 11.

# The Goa Archives

*O.M. da Silva Cosme*

*I consider it a privilege to be able to write this article on the Goa Archives and in doing so I must first congratulate the Department of Archives on its 400 years of existence. This is no mean achievement and makes it perhaps the oldest Archives in Asia and one of the oldest in the world.*

The establishment of the Archives in Goa, the Torre do Tombo as it was called in Portuguese is intimately connected with the famous Portuguese soldier-historian Diogo de Couto, who like his compatriot João de Barros was of noble birth and like him had served in royal households. The untimely death of his father made him seek a military career in the East in 1559 at the tender age of fifteen. On his return from the East to Europe he met his friend Camões, the famous Portuguese poet at Mozambique. But soon the call of the East made him leave for India in about March 1571. He settled in Goa, where he married one Luisa de Mello and after some time being enamoured like Barros of the heroic exploits of his countrymen, he commenced his Decades and when he had finished the Decade X in November 1593 he wrote to King Philip II of Spain, who was also the King of Portugal, asking that he be given access to the State documents. The King passed a Decree (Alvara) on the 25th of February 1595 making provision for the establishment of the archives in Goa, a Torre do Tombo. Diogo de Couto was also appointed as the *guarda-mor* or head of the Archives. A royal reply dated 28th February 1595 was also sent to Couto informing him of the royal action and requesting him to commence his writings from where Barros had ended. The archives or Torre do Tombo was built next to the Casa da Matricola or General Registry and all the documents in the custody of the Secretary for India were to be transferred to it. Thus, it is clear that the Goa Archives saw the light of day under direct royal instructions from distant Portugal.

As the former eastern capital of the vast Portuguese seaborne empire, the Goa Archives has in due course became a rich storehouse of published and unpublished documents with a proud tradition stretching from the famous Chronicler Diogo de Couto. As such, it is an invaluable source of knowledge for research scholars the world over specially on South-east Asia, throwing light on political and socio-economic developments and relations of Indian principalities and

kingdoms with each other and the contending imperial powers of the West.

Students and scholars of the Portuguese period of Sri Lanka's history have, no doubt, benefitted immensely from their study in the Goa Archives as I have and others will also in the future.

Of the Goa Archives collection mention must be made of the *Cartas Patentes e Alvaras* and *Livros das Monções do Reino* and *Regimentos* (Standing Orders) and *Instruções*. The *Livros das Monções* relate to the correspondence between the authorities in Lisbon and Goa and a picture of Portuguese activities and policy in the East can be gleaned from them.

Some codices of special importance for Sri Lanka are numbers 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25, 27, 27 28 (1159 to 1165 and also 1418 to 1422). These *Regimentos* and *Instruções* (Instructions) are from Viceroys or Governors to Captain-Generals and *Vedor da Fazenda* and other officials going to Sri Lanka.

Mention must also be made of the collection of published documents available relevant to Sri Lankan studies such as *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* by J.H. Cunha Rivara (ed.) Goa 1857 to 1877, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* (New Edition) by A.B. Bragança Pereira, Bastora, 1937. *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* by Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, Bastora (1953), *Ceylon zur des konigs Bhuvenaka Bahu und Franz Xávers* 1539-1552 edited by Rev Fr G. Schurhammer, *Collecção de tratados e concertos de pazes que o Estado da India Portugueza fez com Reis etc. tomos* 1-2 by J. F. Judice Biker, *Historia das Missões da padroado India Portuguez do Oriente* by Silva Rego

I must also refer to the exhibition of Archives Week in November 1994 particularly to the extracts from the *Monções do Reino* and *Regimentos e Instruções* displayed with English translations in glass showcases, which were most educative and interesting.

The fine collection of books in the reference library, can again be most useful to the research worker. I must also say that the Goa Archives has in ample measure from the Director to the minor staff, courtesy and friendly assistance, an essential requisite for any Department, to frequent visitors from abroad.

In conclusion, I would like to mention that I am looking forward to spend more rewarding hours in the Archives in the not too distant future.

I wish the Goa Archives a long life.

# The Goa Archives As I Knew It

*J. Velinkar, S.J.*

On the right bank of the Mandovi tributary is situated the Goa Archives, a spacious bungalow-type house with a red-tiled roof nestling in the southern quarter of Panjim. It later acquired larger premises for a planned expansion as a result of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to it over 30 years ago.

When I visited it for the first time in January 1979, Dr. V.T. Gune was the Director, ably assisted by Dr. P.P.Shirodkar and Dr. S.K. Mhamai.

Though these three were the topmost officials of the Archives, they knew only a smattering of Portuguese, insufficient to satisfy a questioning researcher. The Portuguese knowing Archivist at the back and call of scholars seeking to locate documents and understand the meaning of its contents was Mrs. Teresinha Moraes Almeida. She proved an inexhaustible source of information and comfort to the beleagured scholar.

The entire collection of the Archives of those days could be divided into eight main sections :

**I POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE**

i) The series known as *Monções do Reino* consists of 456 volumes covering the period 1560 to 1880. Some of the volumes were taken to Portugal way back in 1777 and can now be found in the Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, Lisbon. It is the largest collection of the Archives and takes its 'Monsoon' appellation from the fact that the correspondence, inclusive of reports, letters, etc., was shipped annually to Portugal just before the onset of the south-west monsoon in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea.

*ii) Reis Vizinhos* (Neighbouring Kings) : A series of 22 volumes covering the period 1619 to 1842 includes the correspondence between Portuguese rulers and officials with Indian rulers. Three volumes (XIII - XV) of this series too are in Portugal.

*iii) Tratados da India :* They are the treaties made with various princelings and kings. The first three volumes of this series are today in Lisbon.

iv) *Vassalagem* : This volume deals with vassals who owed fielty to the Portuguese Crown.

The other main sections were as follows :

**II ADMINISTRATIVE CORRESPONDENCE**

i) *Alvaras e Provisões da Sua Magestade* (Charters and Provisions granted by the King).

ii) *Cartas Régias é Provisões* (Royal Letters and Provisions)

iii) *Cartas e Ordens da Secretaria Geral* (Letters and Orders from the General Secretariat).

iv) *Cartas Patentes e Alvaras* (Letters Patents and Warrants)

v) *Portarias (Gateways)*

**III LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE CORRESPONDENCE**

i) *Regimento das Fortalezas* (Instruction Manual for the Forts)

ii) *Feitorias* (Factories)

iii) *Baçaim* (Bassein or Vasai)

iv) *Senado de Goa* (The Senate of Goa)

**IV REVENUE AND FISCAL INSTITUTIONS**

i) *Aforamentos* (Leases)

ii) *Alfandegas* (Custom-houses)

iii) *Contadoria Geral* (Accountant General's Office)

iv) *Namoxins* (Lands given to village or temple officials)

**V) JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION**

i) *Chancelaria* (Chancery)

ii) *Feitorias* (Factories)

iii) *Justiça* (Justice)

iv) *Provedoria* (Purveyance)

**VI NAVAL AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS**

i) *Arsenal* (Arsenals)

ii) *Arsenal de Goa* (The Arsenal of Goa)

iii) *Barcos* (Ships)

iv) *Alardo* (Parades and Displays)

v) *Hospital Real Militar* (The Royal Military Hospital)

## VII COMMERCE AND TRADE

The proceedings of the Conselho da Fazenda and the 'Monsoon' series contain abundant material relating to Portuguese commercial transactions.

## VIII RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

*i)* *Catecúmenos de Betim* (The Catechumens of Betim)

*ii)* *Colégios* (Schools)

*iii)* *Congregação* (Religious Congregations)

*iv)* *Missões* (Missions)

*v)* *Padroado* ( Patronage)

*vi)* *Seminarios* (Seminaries)

*vii)* *Professores Primarios* (Primary teachers)

The titles of these sections clearly indicate the theme and substance of their contents. Some documents from these sections too were taken to Portugal over the years, but specially before the Indian take-over in 1961. Some of these, the 'Monsoon' volumes in particular, have been published in Portugal. The 'Monsoon' series entitled *"Documentos Remetidos da India"* was published under the direction of Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato. Many documents, chosen by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara who came to Goa as the Governor General's Secretary, have been published in the *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental* series. These contain many documents of the 16th century and have been found to be extremely useful by scholars. Another series which contains documents from Goan and European archives, is the *Documenta Indica.* All 16th century documents which pertain to Jesuits in India have been compiled in this series and published in Rome by Fr J. Wicki, the main editor. Dr. P.S.S. Pissurlencar has published several documents among which is the famous *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India.* Many such documents have been printed and published either singly or in groups by various authors elsewhere.

Some of the rarely sought after documents pertain to local administration. Among these the "Treslado do Foral de Salcete" was very useful to my work. Archivists often complain that research scholars refer only to documents that have been quoted in other works. They seldom consult inventories to ferret out new documents. This may be a time consuming exercise, but will certainly bear much fruit and lead to the discovery of new material. The *Foral de Salcete,* has been

almost published in the six-monthly research journal of the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, "Purabhilekh-Puratatva."

The Ĝoa Archives is a huge mass of historical writing awaiting the patient scholar who will use its contents. The study of its documents will certainly lead to a clearer understanding of India's past and the illumination of several dark corners of Asian and European history.

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# A Brief Examination of the Correspondencia De Macao (Sixty Volumes) From 1780 to 1840 : A Treasure-Trove of Asian History in the Goa Archives

*Rudy Bauss*

The goal of this short survey is to assess briefly one of the major collections housed in the Goa Archives: the *Correspondencia de Macao.* The Goa Archives is the finest research institution in the world for the study of Portuguese activities east of the Cape of Good Hope.[1] The *Correspondencia de Macao* is the richest collection in the Goa Archives concerning areas east of India. This manuscript collection contains excellent references to China and the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, Timor and the Indonesian archipelago as well as documentation pertaining to Mozambique, Brazil and Portugal. The focus of this article is on fifty percent of the volumes in the *Correspondencia de Macao* (sixty volumes) dealing with the period from the end of the Pombaline era in 1777 to the Opium War of 1840. The entire collection of the *Correspondencia de Macao* numbers 119 volumes and covers the years from 1677 to 1861.[2]

Much of the documentation in the *Correspondencia de Macao* covers the economic, social, diplomatic, political, military and religious history of Macau. Economic history centers on commercial activities, especially the four major imports of opium, raw cotton, bullion and sandalwood. The opium trade is well documented from the earliest purchases at Calcutta from 1805 to 1818 to the boom in Malwa opium from 1818 to the late 1830s. Documentation exists for the numbers of merchants and their names involved in the trade. The major drug merchants were Parsees, Baniyas, Marwaris, a few Muslims and a small number of Portuguese. The opium transported on Portuguese ships in the Indo-Chinese trade was largely controlled by non-Catholic Indian natives. One important document lists approximately 150 opium traders in Daman. There is limited documentation on the major Portuguese merchants in the Far East such as Rogerio de Faria and Antonio de Souza. Found in various volumes are issues of periodicals dealing with the China trade from 1820 to 1840 such as the *Canton Register, Gazeta de Macao, O Commercial* (published in Macau) and *Gazeta de Bombaim* (published in Bombay). The last publication should

prove invaluable to students of Indian history. Surprisingly, there were only a few documents in Chinese. Documentation on the slave trade from Mozambique to Macau was at a minimum.

Administrative history included the yearly income and expenditures of the *Fazenda Real*, a listing of Crown debts and names of the major officials and posts.

Diplomatic history with the British concerned trade, commerce, foreign affairs and military matters and was only with the English East India Company in Bengal until 1834. There is documentation on the embassies of Macartney and Amherst to China. French commercial and military activities are limited in number; however, there are some reports in French. References to other European nations and the United States of America are quite small in number.

Demographic information is solid since there usually was a yearly census presented from 1804 to the 1830s. There were approximately 7500 Chinese *legally* residing in Macao as well as 100 to 150 Indians (probably all Parsees) in the 1820s and 1830s.

The history of the Catholic church and missionary work is strong and very well documented. There are numerous manuscripts detailing church activities in the interior of China as well as Timor and Solar.

**PHILIPPINES**

Documentation on Spanish, Portuguese, other European nations and Chinese activities in Manila and throughout the islands is limited. There is significant material on the bullion and sandalwood trades between Manilla and Macau.

**TIMOR AND SOLOR**

Several volumes of the *Correspondencia de Macao* are exclusively the affairs of Timor with an occasional reference to Solor. Furthermore, significant portions of numerous volumes deal with many aspects of Timor and other areas in Indonesia. Particularly strong are religious and military history. There are also extensive accounts of the history of Timor prior to 1750. Documentation on sandalwood production and exports as well as the slave trade are limited. Information on the nature of slavery and the internal slave trade of Timor are rarely encountered. Slavery, however, was solidly entrenched in Timor until 1860 and probably persisted legally in various forms until the eve of World War I. Data on population and demography was very rarely encountered. A clear impression is that Timor was an economic fiefdom of Macau.

## INDONESIA AND SIAM

Dutch activities in western Timor as well as many areas of Indonesia, notably Java and the city of Batavia, receive adequate attention. The military activities of the Dutch on Timor receive much attention. There is occasional mention of Dutch commercial and diplomatic activity in Java. Opium, pepper and trade in agricultural products between Timor and the Indonesian archipelago receive quite limited treatment.

Significant documentation on Siam and the Portuguese factory at Bangkok, especially in the 1820s, is encountered. There are a number of documents in a foreign script, perhaps Thai, probably pertaining to Portuguese affairs in Siam. Documentation on Cochin China is extremely limited.

The *Correspondencia de Macao* has an incredible wealth of information about China, Timor and Indonesia, Southeast Asia and the trade and commerce of India and China. This valuable collection has never been properly utilized by an Orientalist to the best of my knowledge. Furthermore, any scholarly study of Macau for the period from 1677 to 1861 is seriously handicapped if the researcher has failed to consult this most invaluable collection. In short, the study of the Portuguese east of the Cape of Good Hope should begin in the Goa Archives.[3]

**FOOTNOTES :**

1. The author spent almost two years in the Goa Archives in 1980 and 1981; in addition the writer resided eleven years in Rio de Janeiro, almost two years in Lisbon and one month in Macau. Having visited the major archives of the Portuguese world with the exception of Luanda, Angola, the Goa Archives is the *singular* most important archival institution in the world for the study of Portuguese Asia.
2. The best published reference work to the Goa Archives is by the former director of the Goa Archives who unfortunately passed away in August, 1994 in Pune. V.T. Gune, *A Guide to the Collections of Records from the Goa Archives, Panaji,* Goa, 1973.
3. For a more detailed study of the *Correspondencia de Macao* see: Rudy Bauss, "A Glimpse of Two Major Sources of Asian History in the Goa Archives: The Monsoon Collection (120 volumes) and the Correspondencia de Macao (60 volumes) from 1780 to 1840", *Calcutta Historical Journal* (Calcutta, 1995); a much more detailed study for the Chinese, Indian and Southeast Asian specialist will be a twenty-page article featuring a breakdown of information in all sixty volumes in the *Correspondencia de Macao.* This will appear in a forthcoming book, tentatively titled, *The Portuguese Eastern Empire, 1750-1850.*

# Some Sources in the Livros das Alfandegas Housed in Goa Archives

*Celsa Pinto*

Owing to the growing interest in maritime history in general and that relating to the Indian Ocean in particular, several significant studies have made their appearance in the last two decades or so. Yet much is left to be done and we have the relevant documentation to do so. In this context, in the preface of my book, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A study of the Portuguese Country Trade, 1770-1840,* New Delhi, 1994, I had remarked on the existence of "a vast corpus of documentation on Portuguese India in the 18th and 19th centuries, in the Historical Archives of Goa, untapped and crying for attention". We find substantial and rich information on the economic, particularly the commercial history of the *Estado da India* in several series such as *Alfandegas, Monções do Reino, Registos Gerais da Fazenda, Contractos, Fianças, Feitorias, Petições Despachadas, Processos Judiciaes, Correspondencia para o Reino, Rendas, Correspondencia de Macau, Correspondencia de Moçambique, Correspondencia de Damão, Correspondencia de Dio, etc.,*

The object of this paper is to provide a glimpse of sources in the *Livros das Alfandegas* (Customs Records) so as to indicate and highlight their research value. This series forms a bulky collection of more than 2000 volumes, covering the 18th and 19th centuries. It is perhaps one of the largest, if not the largest collection in the Goa Archives. Yet it strangely faces neglect at the hands of historians. Perhaps, I have been the first to use it extensively while researching for my said book.

The Customs Records are indeed a mine of information on the commerce of Portuguese India. They contain documents on the entry and exit of ships, the nature, volume and value of imports and exports, the merchants involved, the levies imposed and the revenues collected, commercial legislation, correspondence, tarfiff charts, registers and receipts also figure in these records.

The Goa Archives houses about 51, 60, 680 volumes on the Salcete, Bardez and Goa Customs houses respectively, apart from the hundreds of volumes pertaining to the customs houses of Aguada, Assolna, Bamanpunja, Balagate, Bensolor, Betul, Bicholim, Canacona, Ponda, Sanguem, Chapora, Chandel, Doromargo, Collem, Murguddy

and even Daman and Diu. These documents besides recording details on the seaborne and coastal trade of Portuguese India also focus on Goa's inland trade. The customs records on Bardez and Salcete demonstrate that trade via the *alfandegas* of Bardez and Salcete was mainly restricted to neighbouring ports and those along western coastal India. The Goa Customs Records on the other hand reveal a more broad based trade through the port of Goa. We observe the arrival and departure of ships to and from Lisbon, Macao, Mozambique, Brazil, Muscat and other distant lands. The records on the Ponda Customs house and those at Colvale, Zambaulim, Murguddy, Doromargo etc. indicate that trade via these houses was largely with the hinterland.

Let me pinpoint some interesting and useful sources in some of the volumes of the Goa Customs House.

Ms 6813 : It contains details on the *Regimento de Alfandega* of January 20, 1774.

MS 8089 : This volume is rich in commercial legislation such as the Alvaras of January 1783, May 1789, August 1795, November 1800, February 1811, most of which pertain to Indian fabrics.

MS 6813 : It is a volume significant for commercial legislation especially the *Tarifa de Sivapoy*.

MS 9267 : This document running into 98 folios provides a pricelist *(Ponta)* of commodities, at the port of Goa (1831-32).

Ms 2668 : It is a rare document running into about 40 folios. It contains information on the quantity, quality, price and value of imports and exports of Goa (1826). At the end of this document, one can find a list of ships that arrived and left the port of Goa in that year.

MSS 6318, 6325, 6807, 6823: These volumes shed light on Goa's trade with Mozambique. They supply information on cargoes shipped to Mozambique such as victuals, guns, gun-powder, wax, pitch, tea, spices, sandalwood etc. Consignments that arrived at Goa included rhino-horns, seahorse teeth, fish maws, etc.

MSS 2668, 6809, 6810, 6814, 9254, 9256, 9258, 9260, 9261:

These volumes throw light on slave shipments from Mozambique to Goa in the late 18th and early 19th centuries

MSS 9246, 9260, 9261, 9262 :

These volumes refer to slave arrivals at Goa from Daman and Diu during 1801-24

MS 6317 : It contains information on the despatch of ivory and slave cargoes to Goa in 1770 and 1771 respectively. A list of convents/ persons, for whom these cargoes were despatched, is provided.

MSS 6327, 6807 : These volumes contain details on the despatch of slaves to Mauritius in the 1780s-1790s by the Mhamais.

MS 6826 : It has a few references to the entry of slaves and opium from Bombay in 1817.

MSS 2668, 6810, 6814, 6815, 6816, 8119, 9248, 9255 :

These volumes indicate the movement of slave cargoes from Goa to Macao during 1795-1830.

MSS 2447, 2668, 9256, 9270 :

They deal with ivory flows from Mozambique to Goa.

MSS 8125, 9869, 11318 :

They are 19th century records that indicate the entry of bullion into Goa from Portugal, Brazil, Mozambique and Macao.

MS 6374 : It is a volume that exclusively deals with the 19th century Portuguese opium trade via Goa. We get information on the volume, and value of the opium exports, those involved in the trade, revenues collected etc.

MSS 6347, 6350, 6355, 8121, 9255, 9256, 9258 : These volumes contain data on the Goa-Brazil commerce in the 18th and 19th centuries.

MSS 6318, 6325, 6327, 6347, 6350, 6355, 6810, 8117, 9248, 9255, 9256, 9258, 9260, 9261, 9262, 9263 : These volumes reflect the substantial and flourishing Portuguese Indian textile trade.

MS 2447 : This volume includes a price list of textiles from Surat and Balaghat to be despatched to Rio de Janeiro and East Africa in 1826.

MSS 2668, 9246, 9256, 9258, 9260, 9261, 9270 : These volumes show the arrival and departure of goods from and for Bombay.

MSS 9255, 9260, 9263 : They dwell on arrivals from Kanara.

MSS 9246, 9248, 9255, 9256, 9258, 9260, 9261, 9262, 9263 : They refer to Goa's imports from and exports to Malabar.

MSS 9246, 9258, 9260, 9262, 9263, : They deal with Goa's commercial relations with Daman and Diu.

MS 9258 : It contains details on Goa's commercial dealings with Baunagar in Gujarat.

MS 9248, 9255, 9260 : These volumes indicate the trade relations Goa had with Madras on the Coromandel coast.

MS 8130 : This volume provides data on tobacco arrivals at Goa from Vengurla (1848-53)

MSS 6319, 6320, 6329, 6335, 6337, 6343, 6362 : These volumes deal exclusively with Goa's timber trade. One can discover information on the nature of Goa's timber imports and exports, merchants engaged in the trade, duties imposed, revenues collected, etc.

MSS 6810, 9265 : They refer to Goa's tea imports.

MSS 2668, 6807 : These volumes consider the import of saltpetre into Goa.

MSS 2668, 6319, 6807, 6810, 6816, 8114, 9265, 9267 : These volumes shed light on Goa's trade in victuals such as coconuts, coconut products, sugar, local liquors, etc.

MS 6822 : This volume provides details on duties to be paid on salt, coconuts, copra, cereals, etc. at the Customs Houses in the New Conquest areas.

MS 9265 : This volume contains a statement of goods imported and exported via *Alfandega de Goa* in 1849.

MS 6800, 9257, 9258, 9265 : One can derive information on the income of the *Estado da India* from the *Alfandega de Goa* during 1756-67, 1792, 1812 and 1850-52 respectively from these valuable volumes.

MS 9269 : It refers to the emoluments of customs officials *(Lagimas)* obtained in 1835-39.

MSS 9270, 9869 : They contain information on Goa's re-exportation trade in 1836 and 1837-38 respectively.

MSS 6328, 6622 : They focus on income accrued from brokerage *(Corretagem)* in 1781-83 and 1799-1805 respectively.

MS 6804 : It deals with freights charged during 1783-88

MS 8115 : It dwells on freight charged on slaves arriving from Mozambique in 1776 at the rate of ten xerafins per head.

MS 6827 : It deals with warehousing *(armazenagem)* in 1855-62.

MS 8127 : It contains information on trans-shipment duties (1828-30)

MSS 6317, 6822, 6427 : These volumes consider shipping. The first volume in particular contains a list of Lisbon ships which touched Goa.

The above indicated sources in the Goa Customs records form just a tip of the iceberg, just a sample of the economic data that one can discover in these records. It is also an indication that similar rich economic information can be found in the records of other customs houses of the times in *Estado da India*.

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# Marathi (Modi) Records in Goa Archives

*S. K. Mhamai*

An eminent scholar and the former Director of the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Dr. T. R. de Souza, wrote in his article "The written word endangered" in April 1987 Special Issue on Environment of *Goa Today*. "It goes to the credit of the Portuguese that inspite of all their weaknesses, they still maintained and left behind undamaged, the rich imperial Archives of the Estado da India. A great share of the credit for its organization during the last three decades of the Portuguese presence in India goes to its charge, P.S.S. Pissurlencar". These lines of Dr. de Souza deserve special attention at a time when the Directorate of Archives is observing fourth centenary year of its existence. It is needless to say that the Portuguese were instrumental in preserving not only the Portuguese records but also records in Indian languages. However, the gains of the Portuguese could hardly bring the expected returns as very few scholars seem to make use of this valuable collection.

The present paper is in the form of a survey of Marathi (Modi) records which are yet to be fully utilized by the scholars engaged in Indo-Portuguese history.

The material housed in the Historical Archives of Goa may be roughly classified under two categories i) Public records ii) Private papers.

**PUBLIC RECORDS**

Under public records we come across loose Marathi (Modi) records, village community records in Marathi (Modi) and Hala Kannada records.

The collection of loose Marathi (Modi) records include about 5,000 loose papers in original. The correspondence includes documents throwing light on the relations between the Portuguese and the Maratha rulers and chieftains from Satara, Kolhapur, Sawants of Wadi, Poona Court and the Sondas. Very few scholars have utilized the documents from this collection. Shri M.V. Gujar has also published a selection of Marathi (Modi) documents throwing light on the relations between the Kolhapur rulers and the Portuguese (1713-1831). Another publication which contains loose documents is *"Bassein Campaign"* by Dr. V.T. Gune. It covers the period 1723-1741. The quarterly NEWSLETTER of the Directorate of Archives also published loose documents in Marathi

(Modi). However, much has remained to be done as there are still thousands of documents which needs the attention of the scholars (see the type of documents in the Appendix).

**VILLAGE COMMUNITY RECORDS**

Village community records are found in Portuguese as well as Marathi (Modi). While many scholars have made extensive study on Portuguese records, very few have come forward to present a full length study of this important series. The village community records are very useful for the scholars engaged in socio-economic history of Goa.

**GOYKANADI RECORDS**

For several years no scholar from Goa or even Karnataka could decipher the Canarese records preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa. The entire credit for deciphering them goes to the learned scholar and the former Archivist of Goa Archives, Shri Gajanan Ghantker. He made it known through his first publication *"Goan Marathi records in Halakanada Script"* that the extant records are written in Goykanadi but the language is Marathi. Making use of more documents, he came out with his enlarged volume *"History of Goa through Goykanadi Script"*. He tells us in his Introduction that during the time prior to and even after the Portuguese conquest of this our beautiful land, the writing of the native language was done by and large in Canarese script, popularly known as Candevi or Goykanadi. But unfortunately only little of the material in that script is extant or available. Survey and inspection undertaken by the author, proved successful and the Directorate of Archives could take over from the Office of Bardez Communidade the Goykanadi records of the period 1584-1823. As stated by Shri. Ghantker, the Candevi records are extremely useful for social history and rural administration. One who is seriously interested in utilizing them should take the assistance of Shri Ghantker to gain some knowledge of the script.

**PRIVATE PAPERS**

Although the Directorate of Archives is essentially a repository of public or Government records, it has taken up since Liberation a programme of acquiring through gift, and purchase of the private papers of historical families.

Among the private collection, we have records acquired from Mr. Ramakrishna Narayan Bhat Valve from Valshi, Bicholim. This

important collection has escaped the attention of the scholars. Very few scholars like Dr. V.T. Gune, former Director of Goa Archives and the then Archivist, Shri Gajanan Ghantkar have utilised the papers to some extent.

Next, we have the collection taken over from Shri R.N. Kelker. This collection contains about 650 loose documents which is also useful for the history of Goa.

In 1964, the Directorate of Archives had purchased a rich collection from Shri Dattaram Mangesh Bhende of Aroba, Pernem, Goa. Besides, Portuguese and Kannada records, there are many rich documents in Marathi (Modi). This rich collection deals with the relations of the Portuguese with the Maratha Chiefs, the Angrias, the Sawants, Sonda Raje and the Siddis of Janjira. It extends over the period from 1720 to 1800 A.D. Original letters of the Angrias are found rarely.

Though the collection was purchased by the Directorate of Archives from Mr. Bhende, the same is seen preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

By way of conclusion, I would like to call upon our scholars to make use of Marathi (Modi) records preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa.

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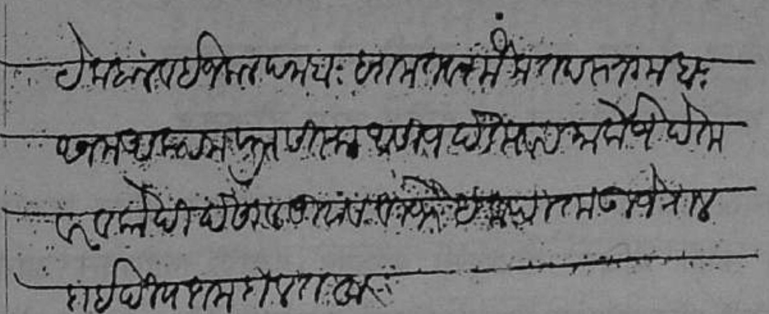

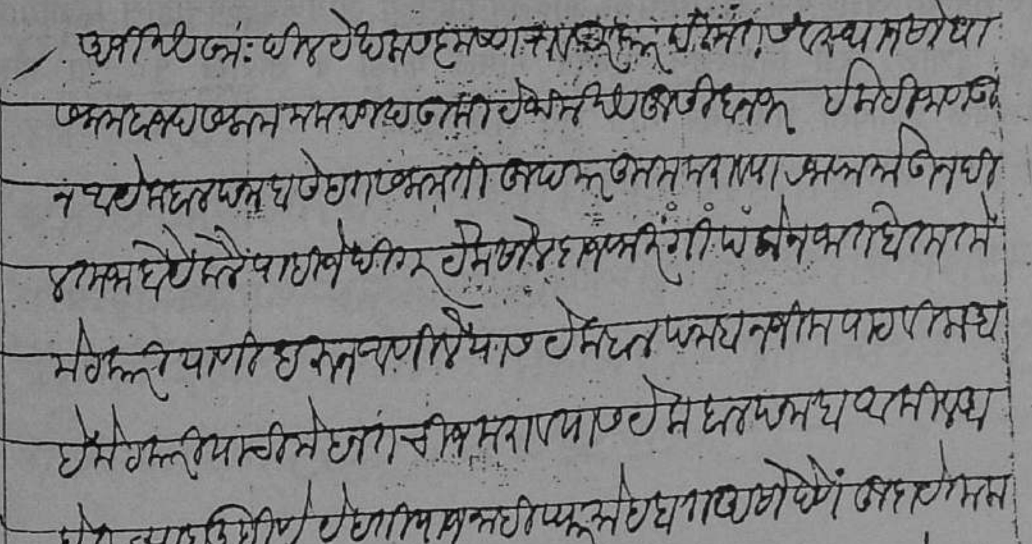

नं. ३९७०

तारीख : ६-९-१७६१

येकबाल व इजलालपनाहाः हशमत व शौकत दस्तगाहाः अजम अकरम फ्रासिस्क आसिज दे तावर मार्केज दे ता वर व कोदी दे सावजुवाव विजरै ३ कपिताऊ जेराल पा इंपीय दाम दौलतडु.

अजी खैरसाः दिलयेखलास कृष्णराव गुरकार दिमत सवस्थान सौधा सलाम बाजद सलाम मकसुद ऊकी येथिल खैरखुसी बनजर इलाही जाणवुन आये कबाळपनाह सेहत सलामती खुद मरकुम करावया रजा फर्माऊन दिल, ताजा होये केले पाहिजे दिगर येक सोलदाज फिरंगी पलोन जात होता तो मेटकारी याणी धरुन अणिले यास येकबालपनाह नापीक पाठविला आहे मेटकरी याची मेहनत चिज करावयास येकबाळपनाह आकिल आहेत ज्यादा लिहीणे येहतीयाज नाही प्यार मोहबत असो देणें खुदायेताला आवलेपनाहमध्यें आयेकबालपनाहास हिशीयार बरस खुशाल रखों निवीस्तन मोकाम मामले फोडा ब तारीख १० या मोह रबिलावल प्रजापती सवदागर माग सुत १२ दसी.

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नं. ४०२८ तारीख : ६-१२-१७६६

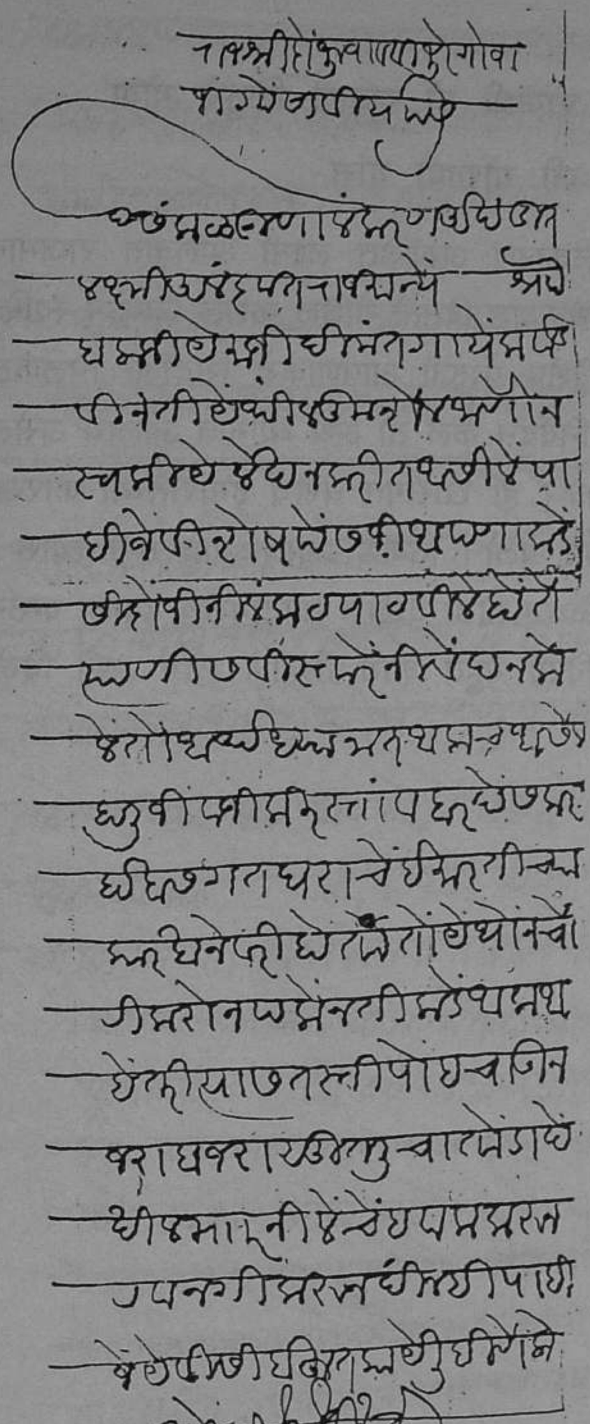
मोहिबानपंनाहाः मरवलिसानं दस्तगाहाः

दोतोर आजम येर्रिक जुजे देमेदान बनाविद

शिर्न सकटतारं दो उस्ताद दां मोहबतहु

अजी दिलयेखलास नारायेण म्हाले गुरिकार सवस्थान सोधा सलाम मोंहवल मकसुद आंकी येथिल नेकी जाणवुन आंमोहिबी आपणाकडिल शादमानी कलमी निगारिष करुन दिल ताजा करित गेंलें पाहिजे परिविला खत निवेस्तन केले पोचोन मजकुर अवगत जाहालें आणीं पुर्तकालीहुन आलें पत्र पाटविलें ते पावलें त्यास फिरंगी लिखीत वाचुस येथे कोण नाहीत तर अजम सदाशिव कामत लिंग उस्ताद यासी येका दिवसाचे गोष्टिस येथवर पाठवुन देत सारिखे केले पासुन शिग्र जातिल यावास्ते जियादा काय लिहीणें प्यार मोहबत असु दिलें पाहिजे खुदायेताला आपलेपंणामधें खुसि रखो निवेस्थन मकाम बंदोडा तेरिख व्यदे सवछार मार्गसिर सु. मी.

नं. ४१०९



नं. ४१०९ तारीख : ६-६-१७६९

राजश्री दों जुवाण विजुरे गोवा

जी गोंसावी यांस

संकल गुणालंकारणं अखंडित लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्यें श्री बालाजी येसाजी दिमंत गायेंकवाड विनंती येंथिल कुशेल जाणोन स्वकिये लेखन करित असिलें पाहिजे विशेष पेंसजी आपणाकडें सिदोंजी निलकंठ पाठविले होंते त्याणी सविस्तारें निवेंदन केलें तों अर्थ ध्यानात आलाच असेल हाळी जिवाजी किरस्तांब बारदेसकर हॉ खासगत धराचें इमारतिच्या कारखानेवरी होता तो येथोन चोरी करोनं पलोन तिकडे आला आहे तरी त्यास तस्ती पोंहचवुन जरा बाजरा सुतळिच्या तोंडा देखिल माटीमलेचे हवाला करुन खानगी करुन दिल्ही पाहिजे येदिसी बहुत काये लिहीणे लोभ असो दिजे हे विनंती.

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नं. ४११०                                                                 तारीख : १०-१-१७७०

**येकबालपनाहा मरवलिशान दस्तगाहा**

**अजेम अकरम दों जुवांव जुजे द मेल गोवर्णदोर**

**कपितांव जेनशल इंद दाम मोहबतहु**

अजी दिले येकलास त्रयंबकराव नारायेण मंत्री सलाम बाजत सलाम येथिल नेकी जाणुन कारनेकी कलमे निवेस्थन करावया रजा असावी गोवें इस्ताद व इजानें बाचे वडिल पावेतो दोस्थी सारोधर चालोन आलेची आनी रधी होणेची इजानेबांस खुष आहे हे दिलात आणुण चालते करावया योग्य आंहा मोहिबास गोवेप्रांतीचे पुर्तकाल आजमपन्हा कडुन अधिपत्य आलेचे मागाच परस्पेर बातमी कलोन परमखुष मोहिबाची येकनिष्ठ स्वामी कांही हटोतर तेव्हा श्री सर्वदा अभिवृधीच करिल तेच इजानेब च्याहत आहेत इजानेब यात्रेस्तव कवलेस आले सत्वरच फिरोन जाणे मोहिबास निवेदन व्हावे तिकडील कार्य प्रयोजन लयाहाव यास परकी असे चिती नसावे वरकड इजानेबाकडिल अजम पोक सणवी धुमे सांगता विदीत होइल प्यार मोहबत असो घ्यावी हे विताबत.

[illegible]

[illegible]

नं. ४०३२ तारीख : १७-८-१७७९

श्री

राजेश्री सदाशीव कामत वाग लिं.

ग इस्ताद गोंवा गोसावी यांसी

॥ ध अखंडित लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्ये श्री लक्षुमण गो गुरिकार किले सदाशिवगड रामराम येथिल कुशाल तो विकारी सवछर अधिक श्रावण बो ३० से पावेतो क्षेम जाणोन स्वानंद लेखनी संतोषविले पाहिजे यानंतर सांप्रत आपणाकडुन कागद येंऊन समाचार कळविला नाहीं. श्रेहाचे जागीं ये सेजार समवेत पत्र लिहुन दर हमेषा श्रेह वर्धावित असले पाहिजे येथिल लोवार कुकळी व काणकोण वगैरे प्रांतास जाऊन लोखंड आणोन येथिल काम चालवित होते घेवुन येतांना जकायेत मार्गी जेथ देणे तेथ वाजवी देऊन कितियेक वरुसे येत जात असता आता अजम काणकोण कोमेदांती याणे अटकाविले आहे अवदा नुतन केलयाने हर दो जागीं दोस्ती चालत असता कैसें चालत होतें तैसे चालणे हे उत्तम नुतन केलिया थेथही नुतन करितील अशास हे वर्तमान हजरत विजरई यांस सुचित करुन येथा प्रकारे चालने यैसे ताकिद अजम कोमेदातीस होइ जेसे करणे लव्हार यांस येता जाता वेगैरे आम्हाकडिल यांस येथा प्रकार चालणे येथ जाता अटकाविनासे वोडद पत्री घेवून हाली तिमंरायाकड पाठवणे आणी आम्हाकडिल सिपाई रसुलखान म्हण काणकोणास जावुन त्याचे मागे आहे येथोन फितोर करुन त्यास न्हेऊन अपणाकडे काणकोणास ठेविला असे त्याणे दिडसे होन आम्हास देणे आहे. याविशई आपणे सागोन ते खान मारास येभ रा करोन देई जेसी ताकिद पाठवणे सर्व मजकुरास उभयेपक्षी येथा प्रकार चाले तैसे केलियाने उत्तम आहे तुम्ही बहुत कुशाल आहेत यैसे व्होऊ नये आणी चिनी जिनस मुसलमान

जेवितात ते जिनसी तबल दोन २ प्याले भोर दोन सेर पाणी पाहिजे खारिख १ सेराचा १ येकुण ४ च्यारी नग अगत्य पाठवी तैसे करणे खान मार येकादे समई आपण येथ येणार नाहीं यैसे म्हणेल तरी आम्हास येणे तेवडे दोन पाठऊन देई जेसी ताकिद करुन पाठवणे श्रेहाचे जागा बहुत काये लेहुन जाणवणे लागत नाही कळले पाहिजे.

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# Some Unexplored Records at the Goa Archives

*Fatima da Silva Gracias*

The Historical Archives of Goa contains a wealth of primary data for the history of former *Estado da India Portuguesa.* Some of its sources have been used by researchers but there is still much to be done on topics of current interest, socio-economic history.

In the last few decades, Historical Archives of Goa has added to its wealth of source records from various departments of the Government concerning the Portuguese period. These collections include records from Directorate of Accounts, Courts, Registers of Births, Deaths and Deeds as well as some very useful records from Churches in Goa including the Parish Registers of Baptism. This new material compliments the already existing materials at the Archives listed in the *Inventario* and P. Pissurlencar's *Roteiro.*

Among the valuable material acquired by the Historical Archives of Goa in the last few years is the one that belonged to the Directorate of Accounts. It is one of the largest collections at the Goa Archives, consisting of several thousand volumes. This rich collection has hundreds of sub-series dealing with various institutions in Goa during the Portuguese period. The collection is mainly of a fiscal nature.

A researcher has a variety of themes to select from this collection. But it is difficult to get access to them. The collection is housed in Daulat repository at St. Inez. This repository is far away from the main Archives, where the researcher can consult the material. One has to make an application weeks in advance and even then may not always succeed in getting the right series.

The collection has been well indexed and is divided in six lists. The number of volumes varies in each list.

List I has 1,918 volumes dealing with a variety of subjects - village administration, *Contadoria Geral,* loans, schools, stamps, military affairs, Hospital Militar, public works department, *Almoxarife, Ribeira,* printing press, education, *foros, estanco, montepio,* postal service, *obras pias,* allowances, police and seminary administration including its expenses. These volumes contain information mainly for the period from 1805-1945. Although there are some volumes for earlier centuries as well. A total of 130 volumes from 1677-1911 are on tobacco trade.

List II covering the years 1825-1957 has 2,286 volumes. These volumes contain information on customs, village administration, *arsenal*, military affairs, military institutions, public health, captain of ports, concessions, contributions, public buildings, *merces*, various means of transport including river transport, gunpowder, prisoners, *foros*, Marmagoa harbour and other topics. There are some 18th century and early 19th century volumes too. The 18th century ones have information on *Arsenal, Se Primacial, Confisco* and *Fazenda*. Documents regarding Wills, Inventory of dead and absentees are also included in the list. Over two dozen volumes have data on tobacco trade in the 18th and 19th centuries. The volumes on *Montepio* comes upto 1965. Those interested on *Alfandegas* of Goa and Diu will find some information on this subject for early 18th century.

The two lists mentioned above provide much material for the study of socio-economic history of Goa, Daman and Diu in the last 150 years of Portuguese rule in Goa. They complement some of the already existing material at the Goa Archives for the earlier period.

List III About 161 volumes are listed here. The records contain expenses of Directorate of Accounts from 1898 to 1952.

List IV has the highest number of volumes. It consists of 3,216 books on income and expenses of *Direcção dos Serviços da Fazenda e Contabilidade of Goa, Daman, Diu* and *Nagar Aveli* during the years 1900-1957. Included in this list are also minutes of various *oficios*, summaries of correspondence between the Portuguese Government in Goa and the Home Government in Lisbon and the annual income of revenue offices of the Directorate of Accounts.

List V provides information on account and expenses of *Repartição Superior da Fazenda* from the turn of the 19th century to mid 20th century. This list has a total of 182 volumes including 54 books on *Caixa Filial do Banco Nacional Ultramarino* - the main banker of the Estado.

List VI has only 136 volumes covering the period from end of the 19th century to mid 20th century. They contain accounts of Central Directorate of Accounts as well as revenue offices of various talukas of Goa.

In this study, particular attention will be paid to four sub-series of this vast collection. They are records from the Military Hospital, *Saude Publica, Obras Pias* and *Instrução Publica*. The choice of these sub-series was dependent on their availability.

Some volumes of the sub-series concerning *'Income* and *Expense of Military Hospital of Goa'* have already been utilized in my work *'Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa, 1510-1961.'* But there is still material that could be used by someone desirous of undertaking further research on this institution. *Hospital Militar* was an important institution in 19th century Goa, that catered mainly to the needs of Portuguese military men. The civilians employed in the other Government agencies could also benefit of the facilities. Natives were permitted to avail the treatment with the prior permission from the Government.

*Hospital Militar* was originally known as *Hospital Real.* It was founded by Albuquerque soon after the conquest of Goa, to care for the health needs of Portuguese men in India. It was administrated by *Misericordia* and the Jesuits in different periods. In 1759 when the Jesuits were sent away from Goa, the Government took over the Hospital and renamed it *Hospital Militar.* It was now managed directly by the Government. In the second half of the 18th century the hospital was shifted out of the city of Goa on account of unhealthy conditions in the city. It was moved to Casa de Polvara, Panelim.

Although the records of *Hospital Militar* deal mainly with income and expenses, they could be used to study other aspects of the Hospital as well as to find the cost of living in Goa during the 19th century. The records covering the years 1827-1881 are bound in almost 100 volumes. There are two more volumes for earlier period-1810 and 1811.

Several of these volumes on *Hospital Militar* are not in good state of preservation. They are moth eaten, have fungus marks and in some the ink has gone right through the paper so that they are indecipherable. There are a few volumes that are blank and have not been utilized although they have been named and numbered.

Salaries of the staff, names of the patients and the prices of various commodities are listed in some of the volumes. The treatment prescribed by the physicians and surgeons to the patients can be gathered from volumes entitled *Livro do formulario das receitas dos facultativos do Hospital Militar.*

From these documents we know that western as well indigenous systems of medicine were being practised in the *Hospital Militar.* Doctors in the institution often used herbal medicine to cure diseases, probably, because they were efficacious or no other drug was available to cure the sick. One of the documents mentions that the bark of the tree

*salparilha* was used for medicinal purposes. The roots were prescribed to treat skin problems, venereal diseases and rheumatism.

Patients at this Hospital suffered from all kinds of diseases and particularly from fevers, syphilis, dysentery and scurvy. In the second half of the year 1849 about 300 patients were treated for different kinds of fevers in this hospital. *Livro de matricula dos doentes do Hospital Militar* provides information on patients admitted at the hospital including their names, age and the diseases they suffered. There are lists of those who were discharged, cured and the ones who died at the Hospital. The mortality rate at the hospital was high due to lack of hygiene, poor medical care and due to the fact that many were admitted in serious conditions only to die.

Fifteen volumes of this sub-series have detailed accounts of variety of medicine bought and sold at the pharmacy. For example, in September 1831, the hospital's pharmacy sold medicine worth 447 *xerafins*, 3 *tangas* and 291 *reis*. *(Livros de apontamento de medicamentos vendidos ao publico no Hospital Militar). Livro do Hospital Militar para medicamentos vendidos ao publico* gives the prices of various medicines sold at the pharmacy of the Hospital. Medicine used in this Hospital was imported from different parts of the world and many times reached Goa in an adultered condition. European manufacturers often sold drugs banned in their country. Some medicines reached Goa after the expiry date, while others were affected by long journey and hot weather which altered the conditions of the drugs.

Patients at Hospital Militar were provided with special diet. The ingredients used in preparing these diets were prescribed by the physicians and surgeons as can be seen from some of the volumes. Portuguese officials were provided a better diet then given to the soldiers and native patients. There were eight types of diets. In addition to food and clothing, the patients in the hospital were supplied with free shaving cream and soap. The records of the hospital indicate that the food was provided for the lower staff when on duty.

*Hospital Militar* of Goa played the role of money - lender. The hospital gave loans to some well known Hindu merchants of Goa.

A study of these 19th century documents on Hospital Militar provides us an idea about the cost of living in Goa during the period. The prices of food stuff including the prices of various essential commodities such as rice, wheat, sugar, egg and fish can be judged from *Livros de receita e despesa diaria no Hospital Militar* and *Livro de registo de*

*compras por grosso e gasto por muido da administração do Hospital Militar* or *Livro de receita e despesa dos generos effeitos pela administração do Hospital Militar.*

The hospital derived its income from various sources, including the profits derived from the sale of medicine to the patients in the hospital and to pharmacies outside the hospital. The expenses in the hospital were high throughout the 19th century. Many of the patients admitted had to undergo prolonged treatment resulting in extra expenses to the public treasury.

Expenses at the Hospital varied according to the season, for instance the expenses increased before monsoons when provisions of rice, coconuts, tamarind, onions, dry fish and wood had to be made for the rains. Expenses were also high when the ships of *Carreira da India* arrived from Portugal with large number of sick passengers. It is interesting to note that the hospital supplied food and toilet articles free of cost to the members of the family, who kept company to the patients at the hospital. *(Livro de receita e despesa do dinheiro da administração do Hospital Militar, 1826).*

There are also volumes with inventory on clothing, utensils and furniture *(Livro de termos do consumo da roupa e utensilios em efeitos do Hospital Militar, Livro de termos de consumo da roupa e utensilios na administração do Hospital Militar.)* Information on salaries paid to the staff of the Hospital can be gathered from another set of volumes known as *Livro de pagamento do pessoal do Hospital Militar.*

These records are complementary to other records on Hospital Militar already existing in the Goa Archives. They include the various *Regulamentos* of the Hospital issued in the 19th century.

*Saude Publica* consists of about 17 codices. The sub-series contains list of some of the people working in the department of health and salaries paid to them from 1866 onwards.

*Obras Pias* is another sub-series in the collection of Directorate of Accounts with more than 20 volumes for the period from 1834 to 1878. They contain lists of people who have benefited from subsidy given through *Obras Pias.* Among the beneficiaries were widows and 20 inmates, each from the *Recolhimento de Nossa Senhora de Serra and Recolhimento de Maria Magdalena.* They received monthly grants for their maintenance from sources assigned for *Obras Pias.* According to the Royal Order dated 1615, the State was directed to assign to *Obras*

*Pias* one percent of all *rendas, tratos e direitos* collected by *the Fazenda*. This income was used to help destitute widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers died while working for the *Estado da India.* Native women who converted to Christianity were also entitled to grants from *Obras Pias.*

The fourth sub-series in this study deals with public education (*Instrução Publica*). These records are in 19 bound volumes. They are mainly salary books of teachers of two well known institutions-Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa and Goa Medical School. Some of these books also include information on appointments, transfer, break in service and advance taken on salaries by the teaching staff. In addition, it contains salary sheets of employees of *Depositos de Medicamentos, Biblioteca Publica, Saude Publica and Correio.* We can gather from these records, the salaries paid to various Government servants in mid 19th century. For example, the Principal of Liceu Nacional of Nova Goa (Higher Secondary School) received a net salary of 85 xerafins monthly, after deductions including the tax on tobacco. A teacher of French in the same higher secondary was paid a better salary than a teacher of Marathi. The former received 60 xerafins a month while the latter received only 25 xerafins. Teachers teaching Marathi were discriminated against in *Liceu Nacional de Goa. (Livro de Assentamento de Instrução Publica 1858-1859).* The labels in the series *Instrução Publica* are loose and the records are not in a good condition.

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# History of the Society of Jesus in Goa as found in the documents at Goa Archives

*Charles J. Borges, S. J.*

For an economic study of the Goa Province of the Society of Jesus some original data is available at the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Goa. I have made mention of it in my book *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits 1542-1759: An Explanation of their Rise and Fall,* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co., 1994, pp. 146-149.

The data can be traced under

Codices 2098-2100, 2465 and 2660 under the section *Colégio do Bom Jesus.* These contain the financial accounts of the Jesuits for the years 1712-1791.

The section *Colégio de S. Paulo* has codices 651, 663, 818, 1220, 1932, 1941, 2107-13, 2359, 2364, 3026, 4515 and 7593-4 for the years 1566-1757.

*Colégio de Rachol* has codices 824, 1865-6, 2048-9 for the years 1569-1757.

*Convento do Bom Jesus* has for the years 1657-1772, the codices 1958, 2097, 2114, 2116, 2118, 2465, 2493, 2529.

*Jesuitas* for the years 1664-1806 has the codices 833, 859, 864, 1209, 1945, 1960, 2041, 2549, 2552, 2557, 2570, 2475, 2484, 4514, and 7602.

The property inventories *(Tombos)* for the years 1518-1845 are listed under the codices 629, 659, 3026, 3069, 7593-4, 7598, 7600-1, 7646.

An analysis of a few of the above listed volumes will give an idea of the range of the material for an economic study :

818 : *Propriedade do Colégio de S. Paulo 1707-1711* deals with the income from temple lands the College had. It contains 72 folios.

838 : *Contas do Administração de terras de Salcete por* Manoel Lopes Pereira anno 1770 até 1777 has 139 folios. It has lists of income and expenditure of different palmgroves which once belonged to the Jesuits.

1202 : *Receita e despeza dos Padres Jesuitas 1687-1740* with its 180 folios deals with the accounts of the Casa de Bandora.

1203 : *Livro da receita e despeza dos Padres Jesuitas 1693-1756* contains 169 folios.

1727 : *Contas do confisco 1759-70* is about the accounts available to the Government from the Confiscation in 1759. The volume has 167 folios.

1728 : *Contas correntes do confisco 1770* (Accounts from the Confiscation 1770). 159 pages.

1859 : *Junta da Real Administração 1765* is about the accounts maintained by the Board of Administration in 1765. It has 51 folios.

1865 : *Livro de arrematações de coco e bate de Rachol 1759* (Book of auction of coconuts and paddy of Rachol 1759). 90 folios.

1866 : *Balanço geral da receita e despeza do Colégio de Rachol dos bens de raiz, moveis, penhores, escrituras de dinheiro de juros, obrigações dos devedores e embarcações que os Jesuitas possuiam 1760* (Account of income and expenditure of the Rachol College of real estate, goods, pawns, loans, obligations which the Jesuits possessed 1760). 156 folios.

1939 : *Balanço da Receita do confisco da Cidade de Goa 1780* (Income from the confiscation of Goa, 1780). 77 folios.

1945 : *Lembrança dos artigos recebidos do Reino pelos Jesuitas 1709-1742* (Account of materials received from Portugal by the Jesuits 1709-1742) is a continuation of the above volume. 128 folios.

2014 : *Balanço da Junta da Administração 1765-66* (Statement of the Board of Administration 1765-66). 49 folios.

2030 : *Consignações de confisco 1804* (Allotments from the Confiscation 1804). 110 pages. Contains lists of priests who received amounts under particular houses.

2031 : *Balanço Geral do Confisco 1771* (Statement of the Confiscation 1771). Its 123 folios state that a sum of 2,25,819 xs., 4 tgs., and 47 rs. were in a box at the start of 1770.

2039 : *Receita e despeza de Juarim 1749-59* (Income and expenditure of Juarim 1749-59). 184 folios.

2041 : Receita dos bens confiscados 1759-60 (Income from the confiscated properties 1759-60). 86 folios.

2043 : Receita e despeza da Casa de Quelossim 1725-43 (Income and expenditure of the House of Quelossim 1725-43). 242 folios. Has monthly details.

2048 : *Livro da receita e despeza do Colégio de Santo Inacio de Rachol 1724-30* (Income and expenditure of the College of St. Ignatius of Rachol 1724-30). 219 folios.

2049 : *Despeza começada em Setembro 1747* (Expenses started from September 1747). 376 folios.

2074 : *Despeza da Junta da Real Administração 1765* (Expenses of the Board of Administration 1765). 133 folios.

2088 : *Receita e despeza dos Jesuitas 1684-92* (Income and expenses of the Jesuits 1684-92). 242 folios.

2089 : *Receita e despeza dos Padres Jesuitas 1706-55* (Income and expenditure of the Jesuit Fathers 1706-55). 40 folios.

2090 : *Receita e despeza dos Jesuitas 1692-1707* (Income and expenditure of the Jesuits 1692-1707). 242 folios. Useful for its prices of commodities the Jesuits used and the wages they paid for their workers.

2091 : *Receita e despeza dos Jesuitas 1720-62* (Income and expenditure of the Jesuits 1720-62). 188 pages.

2092 : *Livro das receitas e despezas dos Jesuitas 1707-23* (Book of income and expenditure of the Jesuits 1707-23). 63 folios.

2098 : *Receita e despeza do Colégio de Bom Jesus 1724* (Income and Expenditure of the College of Bom Jesus 1724). 248 folios.

2118 : *Inventario da sacristia de Bom Jesus* (Inventory of the sacristy of Bom Jesus). The 137 folios containing the varied articles give an idea of the wealth of the church and the possible means employed by the Jesuits to gather them.

2475 : *Maço de papéis da arrecadação do produto dos bens de Jesuitas 1772* (Bundle of papers of auction of the belongings of the Jesuits, 1772). 122 pages.

2480 : *Arrematações do Confisco das Ilhas 1771-1800* (Auctions of the Confiscated goods on the Islands 1771-1800). 47 folios.

2484 : *Caderno de pagamento aos Padres Jesuitas que se achavão reclusos no Colégio de Populo dos religiosos de S. Agostinho 1759-60* (Book of payments to the Jesuits who were detained at the College of Populo of the Augustinians 1759-60) gives the daily expenses for the Jesuits, and the number of those in detention. 98 folios.

2525 : *Balanço Geral da receita do confisco da Cidade de Goa 1773* (Statement of income from the Confiscation of Goa 1773). 98 folios.

2549 : *Bens confiscados aos Jesuitas 1770-1785* (Belongings confiscated from the Jesuits 1770-1785), contains the money received and the expenses and manner of their disposal by the Board of Administration. 17 folios.

2552 : *Jesuitas contra a communidade de Colva* (The Jesuits against the village community of Colva), contains the Jesuit petitions to the Crown at the injustices they were victims of.

2557 : *Livro da receita e despeza feita para varios fins pelos Padres Jesuitas desde Fevereiro de 1753 a Setembro de 1759* (Book of income and expenditure for various needs of the Jesuit Fathers from February 1753 to September 1759).

2559 : *Bens da Casa Professa 1760-1772* (Belongings of the Professed House 1760-1772). 146 folios with many unnumbered pages. Volumes such as these are useful to help gauge the extent of the property of the Jesuits. Needless to say they were prepared by the State officials and a comparison can be made of audit accounts by the Jesuits as against those by the State.

2570 : *Livro de registo de efeitos remetidos e recebidos do Reino pelos Jesuitas 1664-1708* (Register of materials sent and received from Portugal by the Jesuits 1664-1708) is a useful source to discover the materials and their expenses of the imports by the Jesuits of Goa from Portugal. 90 folios.

4514 : *Bens dos Jesuitas 1772* (Goods of the Jesuits 1772). 70 folios.

7600 : *Tombo de Cottubana de Assolna, Ambelim e Velim 1705-1769* (Land leases of Assolna, Ambelim and Velim 1705-1769). The 276 folios are an important register of the land given on lease to various holders in the villages, the rate of interest and penalties to be incurred.

7602 : *Bens da Companhia de Jesus 1758-59* (Properties of the Society of Jesus 1758-59) tabulate the money at the time of the suppression. Running into 135 folios, it contains details of the pawns, title deeds, obligations and real estate of the former Jesuit houses.

7993 : *Penhores do confisco 1783-84* (Pawns from the confiscation 1783-84). 35 folios. An evaluation of the pawned articles with people who bought them and the prices involved.

Some of the appendices in my book *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits 1542-1759* give an idea of the material in the Directorate of

Archives on Jesuit History in Goa (*cf*, pp. 167, 169, 173-174, 176-180, 182-188).

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7. Codex 7602 *(Bens da Companhia de Jesus 1758-59)*. Goa Province income and the loans it advanced (Appendix 23).
8. Codex 2014 *(Balanço da Junta da Administração 1765-66)*. Expenses incurred by the State for the Jesuits bound for Portugal in 1760 (Appendix 25).
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# Books of Monsoon in the Historical Archives of Goa and the History of Portuguese Cochin in the late 16th century

*K. S. Mathew*

The Portuguese King Dom Philip I, issued an order on February 25, 1595 to Matias de Albuquerque, the Viceroy of Portuguese India asking him to arrange to entrust all the documents in the possession of the state to Diogo de Couto who was engaged in writing the history of the Portuguese in the East. He was asked to facilitate the work of Couto which was supposed to continue the history of Portuguese India from where João de Barros left. The King further recommended that a suitable building should be constructed to serve as *Torre do Tombo* housing all the documents related to Portuguese India. The King fixed 300 *pardaos* per annum as the salary of Diogo de Couto who was to serve as the Keeper of the Archives[1]. A letter containing these details was sent to Diogo de Couto on February 28, 1595[2]. The King wrote in reply to the petition of Diogo de Couto dated November 15,1593 another letter on February 28, 1595 entrusting the work of continuing the history started by João de Barros and informing him that the Viceroy was instructed to place at his disposal all the necessary documents for the same. It seems that though Matias de Albuquerque mentioned in his communication to the King dated December 23, 1596 that the building was completed and the keys and other relevant documents were handed over to Diogo de Couto, the statement was far from the truth. Again Philip I wrote to Dom Francisco da Gama, the next Viceroy on February 5, 1597, that all the relevant documents should be handed over to Diogo de Couto to continue the history of Portuguese India. He added that necessary inquiries should be made to find out if Diogo de Couto possessed the required qualification to take up the work and if he did not, another person of better talents was to be identified by the Viceroy[3].

The instructions of the King were not promptly implemented by the Viceroy in India and so Diogo de Couto himself reminded the King about the lapses on the part of the Viceroy as far as the establishment of the archives and the surrender of the required documents were concerned. He complained that no important documents except a few old books were delivered to him[4]. Consequently, King Philip II of Portugal

issued another order to the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha on February 13, 1602 instructing him to take immediate steps to commence the building of the archives and making mention of the fact that the order of 1595 was not executed. It was further ordered that all the important documents related to Portuguese India should be deposited in the proposed archives for the use of the chronicler as well as for posterity. A similar communication from the King dated February 10,1602 was sent to Diogo de Couto[5]. Couto held the post of Archivist and Chronicler till 1616 and it was he who built up the collections of Portuguese documents in the *Torre do Tombo da India* which is currently known as the Historical Archives of Goa.

One of the major collections housed in the Historical Archives of Goa is *Monções do Reino* having now 411 entries covering the period from 1585 to 1880 including two books of indices. There are further forty-five volumes under numbers 9199 to 9245 for the period 1881-1914 with the same title *Monções do Reino.* In fact there were more books in this collection. In view of the royal letter dated February 10, 1774, the Portuguese officials in India sent 62 books of this collection to Lisbon on April 21, 1777. Later, the order issued by the King of Portugal on April 2, 1778 stopped sending further manuscripts from Goa to Portugal and directed the concerned officials to return 62 books already received in Lisbon. However, they were never returned to Goa despite the letter of José Pedro da Camara dated January 1, 1780. These are now preserved in the National Archives of Lisbon (*Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo).* They are also known by the title *Documentos Remetidos da India. The Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa* resolved to publish nine out of the sixty - two books related to the period of Ayres de Saldanha to the end of the viceroyalty of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo. The first volume entitled *Documentos Remetidos da India ou Livros das Monções* was brought out by the Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa in 1880. Several volumes containing these documents have been published and more are expected. The present paper is concerned with the collection of *Monções do Reino* preserved in the Goa Historical Archives and deals only with the few books of the 16th century related to a few aspects like trade, shipbuilding and urban establishments of Cochin.

Trade centred on the port of Cochin is frequently referred to in this collection. Pepper was kept as a monopoly item for the Portuguese Crown. No official or Portuguese Christian was allowed to purchase

pepper on his own. It had to be done only through the factors appointed for the same. Since the issue of the royal order in 1520, the factor at Cochin had the right to search all the ships leaving Cochin to see if pepper was loaded in any ship without his knowledge. The ships violating this regulation were liable to be confiscated[6]. Cochin continued to be the commercial headquarters of Portuguese India even after the transfer of the political capital to Goa. This was all the more relevant in the case of trade in pepper. The Portuguese introduced new weights and measures at the port of Cochin. There was complaints against Nicolau Petro Cochino, the Controller of Finances for the loading of ships, for not making use of the customary weights and measures. Similarly, the ships were not dispatched on time to avoid difficulties in crossing the Cape of Good Hope. Therefore, the King of Portugal wrote to Dom Duarte de Meneses on February 22, 1585 to resolve problems related to the delayed departure of the ships and the use of weights and measures at Cochin[7]. The King instructed the Viceroy to take special care of loading the ships in the port of Cochin[8].

There were clear instructions from Lisbon that the amount set apart for the purchase of pepper should not be used for anything else[9]. Sometimes the entire amount sent for pepper could not be exhausted on account of the non-availability of the commodity. Yet the authorities in India required specific orders from Lisbon to make use of the amount remaining unspent from the previous year. Therefore, the King of Portugal wrote to Dom Duarte de Meneses, the Viceroy on March 16, 1585 to utilise half of the surplus from the previous year's pepper money which belonged to the royal funds for aquiring pepper which was usually employed for the purchase of other spices[10].

As it is evident, the Portuguese did not possess sufficient funds nor the required commodities to trade with India. So right from the very beginning they were dependent on the Italian, German and Flemish merchant financiers for money and material. Despite persistent requests on the part of these merchants for direct trade with India, the Portuguese king went on collecting loans and materials like copper, silver and quicksilver from them and continued trade solely under the Portuguese banner. The pepper from 1564 to 1565 was conducted on contract with some private merchants. This was reported to be the first contract. Again from 1565 to 1579 it was in the name of the King of Portugal, but the prohibition issued to individuals to purchase pepper was for some time in 1570 withdrawn by Dom Sebastian, the King of Portugal[11].

Another contract, for the second time, was concluded with Giovanni Baptista Rovelasca, Conrad Rott, and Giraldo Paris and the Portuguese King. This lasted from 1579 to 1585. The contractors were expected to purchase 30,000 quintals of pepper per year or 1,50,000 quintals during the course of five years for which they were expected to bring the required money from Europe to India. They spent about 1,87,411 *xerafins* during this period. The amount brought to Cochin for the purchase of pepper was bound to be kept in the coffers of St. Francis in Cochin[12]. The trade in pepper for the year 1586 was once again in the name of the King. A third contract was concluded in 1586 in which João Baptista Rovelasca, the Fuggers and Welsers of Augsburg, Germany were among the private merchants of pepper and take them to Portugal for which they were bound to bring the required amount to Cochin. They were allowed to keep their agents in Goa and Cochin to look after the transactions. The King of Portugal advised the Viceroy to consider trade in pepper, one of his principal obligations and so to keep good diplomatic relations with the king of Cochin and the neighbouring rulers[13]. Then from January 1592 to 1597 the trade was again conducted through the contract with Thomas Ximenes, Heitor Mendes, Jorge Roiz Sulis e Elvas. Again it was carried in the name of the King of Portugal from January 1597. They were allowed to post their own factors in Cochin as well as Goa[14]. The Asia contracts were encouraged ever since Philip II of Spain ascended to the throne of Portugal in 1580. The India House *(Casa da India)* looked after trade with India and concluded contracts for the purchase of pepper from Lisbon and also directly from India under the Asia Contract. A consortium of German and Italian merchant financiers entered on a contract with the Portuguese King in which Tomas Ximenes was also involved. The conditions that should be observed by the contractors for the purchase of pepper without prejudice to the royal finances are mentioned. Similarly details about the capital for the purchase of pepper are also provided. It is further added that the contractors of pepper could employ the surplus of the capital for pepper for the purchase of spices and other commodities after observing the stipulated formalities indicated[15].

The right over the custom duties collected in Cochin always was a matter of dispute between the local king and the Portuguese since the port of Cochin was in the territory under the jurisdiction of the ruler of Cochin. Several times agreements were made, rescinded and new terms and conditions were stipulated. Therefore, taking into account

the previous engagements and the orders given by the Portuguese Kings, Viceroys and Governors, a new contract with all the details was signed by the King of Cochin and the Viceroy Dom Duarte de Meneses on December 12, 1584. This was finalised in the monastery of St. Antony at Cochin in the presence of Duarte de Meneses, Itaqunacha Menon, the Chief Administrator on the part of the King of Cochin and a few other important persons from both the parties. The custom duties at the port of Cochin constituted the principal matter in this contract. The King of Cochin demanded duties on all the commodities brought to the port of Cochin by the Portuguese and local Christians based on the grant made by King John III of Portugal and endorsed by Dom Martin Afonso de Souza as well as other governors especially the order issued by Dom Antonio de Noronha. The order of John III of 1530 was reproduced for the sake of discussion and had been added in the newly concluded agreement. The letter of Dom Philip dated November 7, 1580 addressed personally to the King of Cochin had also been produced for finalisation of the new contract. Dom Philip I of Portugal confirmed all the rights and privileges granted by the King Dom Manuel I of Portugal to the King of Cochin. Moreover, it was pointed out that the order issued on November 13, 1566 added that custom duties on all commodities brought to Cochin by the Portuguese settlers were to be collected as in the case of Hindus and Muslims alike for the King of Cochin since the port belonged to him.

After discussing all the previous orders issued in this respect, a new accord was reached whereby the King of Cochin agreed to give up all custom duties due till that date from the Portuguese bachelors. The Portuguese Viceroy acknowledged the right of the King of Cochin to collect custom duties at the port of Chochin through his own customs house. He was to collect duties on all commodities entering into Cochin either by land or water. The unmarried persons in the service of the King of Portugal were asked to pay 6% for entry and exit taxes to the officials as custom duties. The married settlers were to pay to the King of Cochin 3.5% which was only for the entry and not for exit. Both the married and the unmarried Portuguese should pay 1% more to the city of Cochin for its upkeep. The Hindus, Muslims, Jews, Armenians, fishermen, Christians, Venetians, St. Thomas Christians, local Christians from the South and *parava* Christians should pay the usual custom duties. In view of this agreement, the Portuguese King asked Portuguese officials through his letter dated January 31,1586 addressed to Dom Duarte de Meneses to do justice to the King of Cochin[16].

As noted above, the third contract for the purchase of pepper from Cochin was signed in view of the initiatives taken by Giovanni Baptista Rovelasca hailing from Milan. He submitted his proposal through Gerhard Paris (Giraldo Paris) of Aachen in Germany for the Asia contract on November 29, 1585 to King Philip I of Portugal (1527-1598) who ruled Portugal from 1580. Cristobal de Mora (1538-1613) who was the member of the Royal Council of State and Portuguese by birth and worked as the Comptroller of Finances conveyed the acceptance of the proposal by the king on December 1, 1585. Nunes Alvares, (1586), the Secretary of State for Portugal checked the document and signed it on December 5,1585. Giraldo Paris signed the contract on February 15, 1586 for himself and for Rovelasca. This was ratified by the King two days later. Accordingly, Giraldo Paris bound himself for the next six years to fit out five vessels with 24,000 ducats and to send an amount of 170,000 ducats to India every year to purchase 30,000 quintals of pepper in India. He was obliged to take care of the transport of the pepper to Lisbon and pay a fixed tax of five and two thirds of ducat to the Portuguese King. In short, he took up the entire responsibility of trade in pepper. On delivering pepper in the India House in Lisbon an amount of 12 ducats per quintal along with 24,000 ducats spent for the fitting out of ships was paid by the king to the contractor so that further arrangements could be made for the next fleet to be sent to India. The freight charge per quintal was calculated as four *crusados*. The money brought to India was kept in the Franciscan monastery at Cochin lest it should be diverted to any purpose other than the purchase of pepper. It was further stipulated in the terms of the contract that spices and other items worth 12,000 ducats should be taken to India for the united Government of Portugal and Spain without any taxes.

Already in 1585 Philipp Eduard and Octavian Secundus Fugger had discussed the details of a collaboration between the Welsers and Fuggers. Markus, Matheus Welser and Company took up 5/12 shares of the new Asia contract signed by Giraldo Paris. The Georg Fuggerschen Erben took 3/12 shares in this contract from the Welsers who presumably did not have sufficient funds to keep the entire share received from Rott. Thus one fourth of the Asia contract was taken by the Fuggers. Philipp Eduard and Octavian Secundus invested an amount of 48,500 *crusados* as their first instalment of the shares in 1586[17].

Philip Sassetti was sent to India by Giovanni Rovelasca to look after the business, while the Fuggers sent Ferdinand Cron and others as their representatives. The King of Portugal through his letter dated January 10, 1587 informed Dom Duarte de Meneses about the details of the new contract of pepper. The King added that the Viceroy should take special care to promote the trade of pepper at Cochin and see that the ships left Cochin for Portugal on time not only for avoiding difficulties en route but also to receive pepper at Lisbon without much loss in weight. The Viceroy was instructed to take all the necessary and judicious steps with the King of Cochin and the neighbouring rulers to get as much pepper as possible at the port of Cochin. He was advised not to follow the manner in which Nicolau Petro Cochino dealt with the King of Cochin. It was suggested that as far as possible better relations should be kept with the kings in the vicinity of Cochin so that sufficient pepper might be obtained for ships and they should be dispatched to Lisbon on time[18].

The Portuguese officials in India always found it difficult to purchase stipulated quantity of pepper at Cochin after the arrival of ships from Portugal and their departure from Cochin on account of the fact that they did not have money and material to buy old pepper and store it beforehand. They used to inform the King of the fact that the time of harvesting did not coincide with the time of the arrival of the ships from Portugal. It was probably because of this that the King on February 6, 1587 wrote to the Viceroy that a strong building should be constructed in Cochin to store pepper in advance. He added that care should be taken to find out why the King of Cochin was reported to have impeded the trade of pepper and to see that the entire produce of pepper or at least the major portion of it should be brought to Cochin without permitting any one to smuggle it out to other destinations. As a few ships sank in the sea on account of overloading and because the instructions for loading were not observed, the King reiterated that these instructions should be insisted upon while loading the ships at Cochin[19].

The Portuguese, right from the beginning of their trade with Cochin, tried to be friendly with the local king and the neighbouring rulers. They managed to bring almost all the petty chieftains under their umbrella through the ingenious distribution of annuities whereby the recepients were obliged to see that pepper and other spices were not carried to any other destination than to the Portuguese factory at

Cochin. The rulers of Purakkad, Vadakkenkur, Tekkenkur, Parur, Mangatt, and Carta of Alwaye were in the list of those who were given annuities by the Portuguese[20]. Reports reached the King of Portugal that some of them especially the ruler of Cochin and Quilon were not regularly given the presents and annuities. Hence the king of Portugal issued an order on February 13, 1587 to Dom Duarte de Meneses, the Viceroy to look into it[21].

Even before the arrival of the Portuguese, the merchants of the Malabar coast had commercial contacts with the Southeast Asian regions and especially Malacca which was the most important emporium of the Orient. In fact, the Arab merchants who supplied the oriental commodities at the Mediterranean ports of Alexandria, Damascus, Antioch, Allepo and Beirut collected most of the items from Malacca which was connected with the Mediterranean ports via Calicut, Khambat, Eden, and Jedda. The relations the merchants on the Malabar coast had with Malacca were brought under the control of the Portuguese once Malacca was captured by them in 1511. Later, the trade between Malacca and the Malabar coast was, by and large, conducted under the system of *Cartazes* introduced by the Portuguese. Both the Portuguese married settlers of Cochin and the local merchants continued the trade with Malacca and commodities were taken from India for sale in Malacca. Some of them submitted their grievances against the captain of the fortress of Malacca. Therefore, the Portuguese King wrote to the Viceroy on January 28, 1588 to do what was suitable[22].

Pepper weighted at Cochin used to lose its weight by the time it reached Lisbon both on account of the climatic conditions on the way and the long duration of time needed to deliver it at the *Casa da India.* There was some dispute between the merchants of Cochin and the Portuguese regarding the loss of weight for which some concessions were to be made. There was a suggestion on the part of the Portuguese to calculate 12% loss of weight according to which prices were fixed and given to the merchants. The latter presumably did not agree to this demand. Therefore, the King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on March 14, 1589 to resolve this problem either by approving or not approving of it[23].

The Portuguese King was very particular to fix the price of pepper once and for all with the rulers of the Malabar coast. So, he instructed Vasco da Gama in 1502 when he had been to India for the second time to do this. After long discussions with the King of Cochin and the

merchants, the price was fixed on January 3, 1503[24]. Despite repeated requests the Portuguese were not willing to go for the market price and continued to enforce the agreement of 1503 till the end of the third quarter of the 16th century. The King of Cochin showed his displeasure to the Portuguese on account of their unwillingness to enhance the price in view of the rise in the market price. He contacted the ruler of Quilon probably to prevent him from supplying pepper to the Portuguese at the rate fixed in 1503. In fact, a lot of pepper was smuggled from Quilon via Aryankavu pass to the Coromandel region on account of the Portuguese stubbornness. The visits of the King of Cochin to Quilon were construed as malevolent by the Portuguese and so the King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy in India on February 6,1589 to deal with this very judiciously. Moreover, he instructed the Viceroy to accept the offer given by the ruler of Edappally who was willing to supply pepper at a rate lower than that of Cochin. But he cautioned him to tackle the problem very carefully lest it should come to the knowledge of the King of Cochin who would react badly. He was further advised not to give more money on loan to the King of Cochin but care had to be taken to see that the king fulfilled the conditions laid down in the contract with the Portuguese for the supply of pepper. The King instructed the Viceroy to keep all of the local rulers in good humour so that they might be helpful to the Portuguese. He wanted to get more details about the special concessions given to the King of Cochin especially about the two voyages granted to the King to China, which, according to the King, were sanctioned by Dom Sebastian, the King of Portugal. The King added that strict measures should be taken against those who smuggled pepper from Cochin to places other than Portugal[25]. These trade voyages were very lucrative and brought a lot of income for the grantees. Several captains were given such grants as remuneration for their services. Sometimes the prospective bridegrooms of Portuguese ladies sent to India were granted such voyages. Even the Bishops of San Thome, Mylapore and also the married settlers of Cochin were sanctioned such voyages to the Southeast Asian regions or Coromandel.

The Portuguese King wrote to the Viceroy on February 8, 1591 to inform the King of Cochin that the protection extended by him for the trade in pepper was highly appreciated.

It seems that the relations between the King of Cochin and the Portuguese in the last decade of the 16th century were not as cordial

as before as far as the trade in pepper and evangelisation. So, the King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on March 6, 1597 to deal with the Prince of Cochin in such a way that the interests of Portugal should be maintained. He added further that no fleet should be permitted to enter the port of Cochin when the annual Portuguese fleet was being loaded with pepper and commodities[26].

Realising the need of purchasing and storing pepper at Cochin much before the arrival of the ships from Portugal, the Portuguese King wrote to the Viceroy on 26th March, 1597 that he should use all the means at his disposal to raise funds for the purchase of pepper during the rainy season. He was asked to employ 34,000 *crusados* already sent for this purpose from Portugal, the money he got by way of loan from private persons and especially the money of the deceased and absentees kept in the coffers in Cochin and also the balance of the amount brought to India by the contractors of 1585 and could not be exhausted for the purchase of pepper and later entrusted to the authorities of Portuguese India. This order clearly indicates the difficulty met by the King to provide sufficient funds for the purchase of pepper at Cochin during the time when the trade was conducted in the name of the King[27].

## OVERLOADING OF SHIPS IN COCHIN

Overloading of ships brought about several shipwrecks and great loss for the King of Portugal. The officials at Cochin did not take into account the prevailing instructions regarding the loading of ships in Cochin. Even Linschoten who was in India in the last quarter of the 16th century noticed this. So the King wrote to the Viceroy on February 6, 1589 reminding him of the shipwreck of *reliquias* in Cochin itself and of other wrecks to take special care to avoid overloading of the ships. Severe punishments were recommended to be given to those who violated the instructions in this regard[28]. As trade in pepper in the port of Cochin dominated the Portuguese activities in India, the kings of Portugal issued orders from time to time to the officials in charge of loading the ships at Cochin.

## SHIPBUILDING IN COCHIN.

The Portuguese king realised the need of building ships in Cochin to transport pepper and other commodities to Portugal. So, as soon as Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of Portuguese India in 1505, the King instructed him to see that ships were built and repaired in Cochin. The vessels with oars were recommended to be

manufactured at Cochin. He was asked to get necessary timber for the same and keep them ready for repair of the ships[29]. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Viceroy, after having established his headquarters at Cochin, made provisions for the construction and repair of ships. *Santa Catarina de Monte Sinai* was one of the *naos* that was built at Cochin, between 1511 and 1513 under the instructions given by Afonso de Albuquerque. It had a tonnage of 800 and required much less water than a vessel of 200 tons[30]. This ship carried 4,86,436.8 kgs of commodities from Malabar to Lisbon in 1518[31]. Three *caravels* were already built and another was being built in Cochin by October 1514[32]. The Portuguese king being well-informed of the advantages of building ships in Cochin wrote on February 22, 1585 to Dom Duarte de Meneses to find out if there were persons who would like to build *naus* for transportation from India to Portugal, and to inform him the approximate expenditure and the probable duration of time needed for the completion of the work. This decision on the part of the King was prompted because of the fact that *naus* built in India were more lasting and stronger than those of Portugal. The King recommended that building of ships in Cochin could be given on contract if there was shortage of timber and the vessels could be of 500 to 600 tons[33]. Again on January 10, 1587 the King wrote to the Viceroy informing that the contractors of pepper had the obligation of getting two *naus* built in India for the transportation of the commodities from India to Portugal. The Viceroy was once again asked to get *naus* constructed in Cochin on account of the difficulties of construction of ships in Lisbon[34]. It was reported that a ship named *Santa Cruz* of 1600 was built in Cochin by the local king and was sold to the Portuguese King[35].

**URBAN SETTLEMENT OF COCHIN.**

The Portuguese city of Santa Cruz in Cochin, the history of which began with the establishment of the Portuguese factory in 1500 by Pedro Alvares Cabral, developed by leaps and bounds in the 16th century. A fortress was established in 1503 and this was converted into a masonry structure with strong fortifications ever since this was converted into the headquarters of Portuguese India in 1505 and the first Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida began to stay there. Indian and foreign merchants flocked together to Cochin. A settlement parallel to the former settlement of the local people came up in and around the Portuguese fortress. A church, warehouse, residences of the Portuguese officials, jetty, naval establishments, religious houses like those of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, Augustinians and a Cathedral church,

Bishop's house, hospital, prison, House of Holy Mercy, storehouse, municipal offices and a host of other buildings and institutions sprang up in course of time.

The Portuguese settlement of Cochin was raised to the status of a city taking into account the laudable services rendered by the King of Cochin, importance of the port and its commercial potentialities as well as the services of the Portuguese married settlers who married local women, built houses at their own expenses and brought up children. The King of Portugal, John III issued a charter on March 12, 1527 by which Cochin was brought on par with the Portuguese city of Evora and Goa and was endowed with all sorts of privileges and rights that were enjoyed by the Portuguese cities. He added that Cochin should thereafter be called a city, not a town[36].

As the settlement went on developing, more fortifications were needed. As the King of Cochin entertained some suspicion about further fortifications, the Portuguese King wrote to the Viceroy on March 26, 1589 to convince the King that the proposed fortification of the city was primarily meant for the protection of the customs house in which he too had great interest[37]. As the local king did not give any co-operation to the Portuguese in the fortification of the city as ordered in 1589, the King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on January 12, 1591 to persuade the King of Cochin to give permission. He further granted trade voyages to the city of Cochin from Coromandel coast to Malacca so that they could arrange more funds for the fortification[38]. The letter of the King dated February 15, 1594 addressed to the Viceroy insists on getting the permission from the King of Cochin to fortify the city further[39]. Again on April 13, 1594 the King reminded Matias de Albuquerque, the Viceory of the fortification of Cochin[40].

The Portuguese city of Cochin was in the territory granted by the King of Cochin not as the Portuguese establishment in Goa. Hence the relations between the residents of Cochin and the Portuguese were quite delicate. The Portuguese Viceroys had issued orders to drive away Brahmins and other Hindus who stood on the way of conversion since 1560[41]. But the King instructed his Viceroy and other officials not to follow this policy in Portuguese Cochin. He wrote on March 5, 1587 that the synagogue in Cochin, mosques, and temples should not be destroyed. Similarly, the construction of new temples should not be prevented, the secret ceremonies of the Jews in Cochin should not be interfered with. The Viceroy was also instructed not to

permit the capture of Jewish orphans below the age of 14 and not to prohibit the Jews from entering other cities and fortresses[42]. The officials of the municipality of Cochin were also instructed not to oppress the Brahmins residing in the kingdom of Cochin.[43]. As the population in Portuguese Cochin went on increasing, the Bishop of Cochin recommended to the King of Portugal the establishment of a convent for nuns, a house for unmarried girls and another house for the married women during the absence of their husbands. These requests were turned down by the King and so the Bishop later gave justification. Hence the King wrote to the Viceroy on February 22, 1597 to inquire into it[44]. Realising the tenor of the arguments of the Bishop of Cochin, the King wrote to the Viceroy on February 12, 1597 to send his opinion[45].

The Portuguese married settlers at Cochin, enjoyed a few privileges and the city of Cochin was declared equal to the city of Evora with the same privileges. Whenever their privileges were not respected by the Governors or Viceroys they used to send their complaints to the King of Portugal. In view of their petition, the King wrote to Dom Duarte de Meneses, the Viceroy on January 28, 1588, that their privileges should be respected[46].

The city of Cochin was given a trade voyage to China by the King Dom Sebastian. The proceeds of such a voyage was supposed to be employed for the fortification of the city. Dom Philip I of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy Dom Duarte de Meneses on March 8, 1589 to furnish details about the voyage to China[47]. There were several orphans in Portuguese India who were sent to Portugal so that they might be married in India. Sometimes some of them were married to persons who accepted the trade voyages from which they collected large sums. The city of Cochin at times enjoyed the proceeds of such voyages and made use of the money for giving the orphans in marriage. So, the King of Portugal instructed the Viceroy on January 12, 1591 to grant two trade voyages from Coromandel to Malacca favouring the city of Cochin for helping the orphan girls in their marriages.[48].

Thus, the collection of the 'Books of Monsoon' preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa throws considerable light on various aspects-trade, overloading, shipbuilding and urban growth. Of course a lot of information on evangelisation is also available in the documents in this collection. As this falls outside the scope of this paper it is not discussed here. The financial weakness of the Portuguese to conduct trade on their own is well brought out in these documents. Similarly, details of

the contract trade taken up by the German and Italian merchant financiers are also furnished here. They may also shed invaluable light on other aspects of Portuguese India and its neighbours. It may be assumed that the history of India will be richer if this collection could be properly catalogued and brought to the notice of the students of history. A treatise on trade and commerce will remain incomplete without the study of this collection. It may be added that attempts should be made to get back the 62 volumes of the Books of Monsoon sent to Lisbon to enable us to reconstruct the history of India in a better light.

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45. Ibid. fl. 770-774.
46. No. 8, fls. 308-311.
47. Ibid, fls. 346-48.
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# A 12th/18th century Swahili letter from Kilwa Kisiwani*
# (being a study of one folio from the Goa Archives)

*Yahya Ali Omar and P.J.L. Frankl*

It is not known when the Swahili language was first written; what is certain is that of all the Bantu languages, Swahili is the one with the earliest extant written material. The Swahili letters penned almost three hundred years ago and now preserved in the Goa Archives comprise the oldest corpus of Swahili prose texts so far discovered. Apparently, they have not been the subject of linguistic study. This article attempts to remedy that omission in part.

As a result of Professor C.R. Boxer's visit to Panaji in 1951, English-reading scholars were provided with a glimpse of the Goa Archives (Boxer, 1952:299-325). His visit was short, and so his perusal of the archives was necessarily cursory. He was able, however, to glance at the first few items in the series *'Livros das Monções do Reino' (M.R.),* but since the series contains 456 volumes (covering the years from 1574 to 1914) he left Goa unaware that nestling within those volumes were some of the earliest extant Swahili prose texts (other than isolated epigraphic words). The credit for first identifying Swahili letters in Goa goes to Edward E. Alpers, who visited Panaji in 1967. It appears that even earlier letters may be found in the series *'Macau'*; if so, we have not yet been able to see them.

In fact, there are two series of the *M.R.* correspondence between the Crown (in Lisbon) and his Viceroy (in Goa). Both series have gaps and we are not able to say whether the Goa folio which we have selected for study has its double in Lisbon.

Early in the 18th century, 'the southern domain of Omani influence [along the East African coast] was that of the ancient island centre of Kilwa, whose province extended down to Mozambique, where the Omanis were never able to oust the Portuguese' (Wilkinson, 1987:49). Our chosen folio (fl. 102 in *M.R. 77/78*) was written in Kilwa Kisiwani in 1711. About a decade before the island had been occupied by the Omanis and the following seventy years were 'a period of rivalry

**(*As a special case, reprinted from Africa und Ubersee, col.77, University of Hamburg, 1994.)**

between them and the Portuguese' (Chittick, 1974: I, 16). Folio 102 sheds a glimmer of light on that rivalry.

The writer of the letter was the ruler of Kilwa Kisiwani, Fatima binti Muhammad. It is sometimes forgotten that women have not been total strangers to the corridors of power in the world of Islam (Mernissi, 1990). In the context of Swahili-land, Sultan Fatima was not an exception in any way for 'there were many famous queens on the East Coast in old times, of whom the names still survive, Mwana Aziza of Zanzibar, Mwana Mkisi of Mombasa, Mwana Masuru of Siu' (Taylor, 1891 : 81). Additionally, in all the published versions of the Pate Chronicle (e.g. Heepe, 1928 : 147 & 160) there is the name of a female ruler, Mwana Khadija binti Mkuu bin Abu Bakr, obit 1187/1773 (whose existence is corroborated in a letter preserved in the Archives de France). Here then is a theme which surely merits further study and research.

As far as the Kilwa Chronicle is concerned Carl Velten, who served as dragoman to the Governor of German East Africa from 1893 to 1896 (Dammann, 1983 : 257), had a version of the *"Kilwa Chronicle"* written down entitled *Habari za zamani za Kilwa Kisiwani* which testifies to the existence of Sultan Fatima - identified as Sultani Fatima binti Ali and not, as in the folio, Sultani Fatima binti Muhammad; but the Velten version adds: *mambo ya sultani Fatima ufalme wake hawakufahamu sana, tumesikia hivi tu* `the events concerning the reign of Sultan Fatima have not been remembered exactly, (our) account is only what we have heard' (Velten, 1907:247). Since the letter was dictated by Sultan Fatima herself, and since it is almost two hundred years earlier than the version of the *Kilwa Chronicle* transmitted to Velten, the probability must be that the transmitters erred in identifying Sultan Fatima as binti Ali.

In this letter Sultan Fatima was writing to a fellow Swahili, Mwinyi Jumaa, probably from Mombasa. He is informed that two emissaries from Oman have arrived in Kilwa Kisiwani with a letter from the Imam (probably Qayd al-Ardh). In his letter the Imam expresses the wish that those who have fled from the Kilwa Sultanate and settled in the region of the Kerimba Islands (off Mozambique) should return to Kilwa, now that peace and security have been re-established there.

The Swahili scribe, whose name is illegible, makes a number of orthographic and grammatical errors. For all that, Folio 102 must be regarded as being of the greatest interest to Swahili scholars, and it

must therefore be hoped that the language of the remaining Swahili letters in Goa will be given the attention which they deserve.

The letter transliterated is thus :

*bismillāh al-raḫmān al-raḥīm*

1. *mimi mfalme*[1] *wa Kilwa Sulṭani Faṭima*[2] *ibnaṭi*[3] *Sulṭani mfalme Muḥammaḍ*[4] *mkub [wa?]*[5]
2. *yendela*[6] *muhibu wetu Mwinyi*[7] *Jum'a*[8] *ibn al-marhum al-sayyiḍ*[9] *Mwinyi Kaje*[10] *salamu baaḍa*
3. *ya waraqa*[11] *kuwajuvya*[12] *kwamba niwene*[13] *wali ya Imamu*[14] *na wakili ya Imamu Shaykh 'Alī*
4. *ibn Muḥammaḍ na wakili Muḥammaḍ ibn Mubarak al-Bukhayt[?]*[15] *wakinambila*[16] *kwamba tupewe waraqa na Mawlanā*
5. *'l-Imamu ya kwamba wandikile*[17] *waraqa khadimu*[18] *zako wot_'e walio jimbo la Kirimba*[19]
6. *nawajijile*[20] *Kirwa*[21] *amani ya Mulungu*[22] *aṭaka ekuja naje naakiwa na chake*[23] *naje k'apana*[24]
7. *munyang 'anya mt'u kit'u wat̲akaokuja kuuza vyakula isilamu*[25] *naje k'awana*[26]
8. *wasiwasi na pakiwa at̲akayekuja kwao nawaje*[27] *ni amani k'apana*[28] *mutwaliwa chake*[29]
9. *wambile*[30] *jamaa walioko wot̂'e bigheri mZungu*[31] *ndiye aḍuwi ya Imamu basi*

[continued at top of folio]:

*aliye muSawahili*

*k'ana*[32] *viwi*[33] *na muArabu*[34]

*hadhihi wa al-salām*

*nakaṭaba [hu]*[35]

*al-khaṭṭ khadimu*

*biyaḍihi:* [the scribe's name is illegible]

[the date is illegible][36]

## AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

1. I, Sultan Fatima, daughter of the Sultan the ruler Muhammad the elder[?]

2. [this letter] is going to our friend Mwinyi Jumma the son of the late Sayyid Mwinyi Kaje. After greetings :

3. [this] letter is to inform you that I have seen the governor of the Imam and the agent, Shaykh Ali

4. ibn Muhammad and the agent Muhammad ibn Mubarak al-Bukhayt [?] and they told me that 'we have been given a letter by our Lord

5. the Imam: "write a letter to your subjects who are in the Kerimba region

6. Let them come without fear to Kilwa [because there] all is safe he who wants to come let him come and if he has possessions let him come [because] there is nobody

7. who can rob anyone of his possessions and any Muslim who wishes to sell food let him come there is nothing

8 to worry about and if there is someone who wants to come home [to Kilwa] let them come it is safe there is nobody who can be robbed of his possessions

9 tell all the people who are there except the European-Christians - it is they only who are the enemies of the Imam

[continued at top of folio]:

the person who is a Swahili

has no [cause for] enmity with an Arab

that is all the end"'

and it has been written by

[your] servant

in his own hand : [the scribe's name is illegible]

**REFERENCES AND NOTES :**

1. *mfalme* : ruler; elsewhere the word *mfalme* has been translated as 'queen' (Alpers, 1967 : 160); this rendering echoes the Portuguese word 'rainha' in the preamble and in line 26 of folio 101 (see Appendix). Actually, the Swahili word *mfalme* (or *mfalume*) is indifferent to gender. In Zanzibar during the second half of the 19th century the range of the word was reduced to mean 'a male ruler', 'a king' and the word *malkiya* (a corruption of the Arabi *malikah*) was introduced to mean 'a female ruler, a queen' - not the consort of the Sultan but a reigning Queen, the Queen of England. Such a distinction between 'a male ruler' and 'a female ruler' is alien to the genius of the Bantu languages and so, beyond the confines of Zanzibar town (where the British 'protecting' power then had its East African headquarters) first - language speakers of Swahili did not adopt the newly-introduced *malkiya* but adapted the English -derived *k'uini* when referring to the English Queen.

2. **Fatima :** Although the Queen remains anonymous in the Portuguese translations, the Swahili texts of the letters name her as *Mfalme* Fatima' (Alpers, 1967: 160); in fact, the mention of the ruler's name in folio 102 appears to be the only occurrence of the name in this corpus of Swahili texts (it may of course appear in folios which we have not seen).

3. **ibnati :** daughter of; the scribe should have written this word either without the initial *'alif,* giving *binti* (a word common to both Arabic and Swahili), or with the initial *'alif* and a final tā marbūtah, a form occuring in Arabic but never in Swahili.

4. **Muhammad :** a peculiarity of the script is that every dal is accompanied by a subscript dot.

5. **mkub[wa?] :** the text gives only the consonants m k b, thus the -wa is conjectural.

6. **yendela :** is going to (i.e. **ya endeya** or **yendeya**); ya refers to **waraqa** 'letter'; the inter-vocalic l in the prepositional form of the verb **-enda** is no longer heard.

7. **Mwinyi :** a title for a Swahili male.

8. **Jum'a :** the name in the text is spelt in the Swahili way, i.e. the final character is **ayn** (not **tā' marbūtah,** as in Arabic).

9. **al-sayyid :** the employment of this Arabic word may be in imitation of Omani usage; elsewhere, Sayyid Mwinyi Kaje, the late father of the recipient of the letter, is described as *'fidalgo de Mombasa'* (a [Swahili] nobleman of Mombasa)-see M.R. HAG, 78, fl. 98, preamble.

   Undoubtedly the counsel of perfection is to undertake a study of all the Swahili letters in the Goa (and Lisbon) Archives, together with their Portuguese 'translations'. For the time being, students of Swahili must be content with this study of just one folio.

10. **Kaje :** elsewhere this name has been transliterated *'Kwaja'* (Alpers, 1967 : 160) and *'Kajo'* (Alpers, 1975 : 72); we have preferred *'Kaje'* since this is a known Swahili name (however, the transliteration remains open to interpretation).

11. **waraqa :** letter, in the 20th century *barua* is the usual word for 'a letter', Swahili people using *waraka* (the *qāf* is pronounced as if it were *kāf*) only in such fixed expressions as *waraka ni nusu ya kuonana* 'a letter is the next best thing to seeing one another.' Curiously, although virtually obsolete amongst first - language speakers, the word is still used in some Bible translations. Amongst Swahili people waraka 'letter' was employed as late as the end of the 19th century - there are numerous instances of the usage in *SOAS MSS 47769 & 47782.*

    Here (and elsewhere in this corpus of letters) *waraka* has been assigned to Noun Class 9 (e.g. *waraka ya*), while in contemporary Swahili the word is found in Noun Class 11 (e.g. *waraka wa*).

12. **juvya :** inform: this is the old causative of the verbal-jua; contemporary Swahili has *-juza* (or - *julisha* in the standardised version).

13. **niwene :** I have seen; this form of *-ona* 'see' is heard in *Kit ikuu* (the Swahili of Bajuni-land), and was still used in early 19th century *KiMvita* - e.g. the Mombasa poet Bwana Muyaka wrote :

    *hayano si kusikiya* niwene kwa mato yangu* (ed. Hichens, 1940 : 66) 'I have not heard these things, I have seen them with my own eyes'.

14. **Imamu :** the numbers giving the year in which the letter was written are indecipherable (verso), but external evidence indicates that it was 1711. Thus the

Imam would probably have been Sayf bin Sulṭān al Ya 'rabī (obit 1123/1711), commonly referred to by his sobriquet *Qaydal-Ardh* ' Master of the land' in whose reign Oman's maritime power was finally established.

15. **al-Bukhayt[?] (Zubair, 1991 :** II, 150); the transcription 'Ribocar' (Alpers, 1975 : 72), derives from the Portuguese 'translation' (available in the Appendix) and is undoubtedly incorrect in so far as the Swahili text is concerned; *bukhayt* is the diminutive of *bakht* 'good fortune.'

16. **wakanambila :** they told me; (*wa-* 'they' refers to the two Omani emissaries of the Imam, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad and Muḥammad ibn Mubarak; for the inter-vocalic / see Note 6.

17. **andikile :** wrote; see Note 6 for the l.

18. **Khadimu :** subjects; this meaning of the word may be an attempt to imitate the word as employed by the Omani Royal Court-if so, the meaning has here undergone a minor shift; in modern Swahili a different Arabic-derived word, *raiya*, is used to signify 'subject', while *khadimu* now means what it means in Arabic, namely 'servant' or 'slave'-*khadimu yako* 'your humble servant'.

19. **jimbo la Kirimba :** the Kerimba region; 'The prosperity of the Querimba Islands, such as it was, received a severe blow during the long drawn-out struggle between the Portuguese and the Arabs of Oman, 1650-1730' (Boxer, 1963 : 344).

20. **nawajijile :** let them come without fear; the *na-* prefix marks the hortative subjunctive, e.g. *nawaje* 'let them come'.

    The idiomatic use of the-ji-infix with the prepositional form of the verb has been overlooked by the grammars; the implication of this variety of the -ji - infix is often one of indifference or resignation - e.g. *hujiliya nipatacho* 'I ate whatever I could get [but was wholly indifferent as to what I ate]' (Yahya Ali Omar, forthcoming; p. 27).

21. **Kirwa :** the spelling is inconsistent for in line 1 the place-name occurs as 'Kilwa', with *lām,* rather than 'Kirwa', with *rā;* amongst Swahili people the pronunciation 'Kirwa' is quite normal.

22. **Mulungu :** God; this variety of *Mngu* is found in *SOAS MS 53823* -17th century Swahili translation of the Arabic poem Hamzīyyah; the phrase *amani ya Mngu* continues to be heard in an exchange of greetings between Swahili people.

    The earliest known occurrence of this Bantu word probably comes from a Portuguese narrative written not earlier then 1573 : alguns chamão a Deos Mulungo 'some give to God the name Mulungo' (Rego & Burke, 1975 : 382).

23. **chake :** his [possessions - *kit'u* is understood]; in the context, an English plural best translates a Swahili singular.

24. **k'apana :** no one; this form of *hapana* is today a feature of *chiJomvu,* a sub-dialect of the Mombasa area (Lambert, 1958 : 50-51); it is of considerable interest to find this *k'a* - form in an 18th century letter penned so far south of Jomvu.

25. **isilamu :** A Muslim; the Swahili people do not say *muislamu* (sing.), *waislamu* (plur.), but *Islamu* (sing. adn plur.)

26. **k'awana :** see Note 24.

27. **nawaje :** Let them come; a solecism is involved since *nawaje* refers back to a singular subject, i.e. *atakaye kuja* 'whosoever wants to come'.

28. **k'apana** : see Note 24.

29. **chake** : see Note 23.

30. **wambile** : see Note 6 for the l.

31. **mZungu** : European - Christians, i.e. the Portuguese; in the context, an English plural best translates a Swahili singular.

It is probable that the Swahili writer in Kilwa Kisiwani using the word *waZungu* was familiar with the Portuguese but with no other European-Christians; by contrast, the more cosmopolitan 'translator'resident in Goa (See the Appendix) uses the word 'Portuguese', realising that there was more than one tribe of European-Christians.

32. **k'ana** : see Note 24.

33. **viwi** : enmity; the root meaning of *wi* (a prenasalised *mbi* in the 'N class') is 'bad', e.g. *wimbo muwi haongolewi mwana* 'bad songs should not be used as lullabies'; or again, a line from a well-known northern Swahili stanza runs;

*vua maṯo ḏuniyani * chema kiwi angaliya* 'lift your eyes on the world, and see the good and the bad of it' (Dammann, 1953/54; Lambert, 1955 : 69).

34. **muArabu** : an Arab, i.e. from Oman.

35. **nakaṯaba [hu]** : he wrote it-it is, or at any rate it was customary to begin and end Swahili letters with Arabic formulae.

There are four errors here :

i it is not customary to include *na-;*

ii *qāf* has been written instead of kāf;

iii ṭā has been written instead of *tā :*

iv the customary *-hu* 'it' is wanting.

36. Although the year is indecipherable it seems probable that the letter was written a short time before the Portuguese 'translation' of [Sha'ban 1123] September 1711. Two other 'translations' of Swahili letters carry the same date (fl 104 & fl 107).

## APPENDIX

Transcription and translation of parts of *M.R. 78,* folio 101.

### (a) A possible transcription :

Traducção da carta da Rainha de Quiloa

*escreve a Minei-juma de Minei-qunje*

1 Este ano veio de Mascate um capitão por nome Ali buni

2 Mahamed, e Eu Ver da fazenda por nome Mahamed buni

3 Mubaracã Libocar com ordem do Imamo de Mascate que

4 me obrigar a que faça eu vir todos os meus vasallos que so

5 geitão aos Portugueses, que na Ilha de Quirimba estão e que

6 a todos escrevesse eu que os Arábios havião de dar boa passa

7 ge [m], e ningué[m] havia de fazer mal, e que todos viesse aqui

8 Goa, e ainda a outros para poderem vir cada qual nas suas

9 terras sem receio nenhum dos Arábios, porque diz elles

10 não tem outros inimigos que os Portugueses...

25 Eu Princepe de Ampaza Bana-Dao de Ba

26 na Xeque traduzi esta carta na Rainha de Quiloa em

27 lingua Portuguesa Goa 25 de Setembro 1711

(signature in Arabic script]

Bwana Ndau ibn al-Sayyid Mbwana Shaka

**(b) A translation of the above :**

1 This year there came from Musqat a captain named Ali bin

2 Muhammad to me with the agent named Muhammad bin

3 Mbarak al-Bukhayt [?] with an order from the Imam of Musqat

4 ordering me to call all my subjects who

5 are under Portuguese rule in Quirimba Island, and telling me

6 to write to them all, that the Arabs would give them safe

7 conduct, and no one would hurt them, and that they should all come here

8 to Goa, and [to write] also to others that they could all come to their

9 land without any fear of the Arabs, because he says

10 that they have no enemies other than the Portuguese...

25 I, Prince of P'aza, Bwana Ndau bin Bwa-

26 na Shaka translated this letter from the Queen of Kilwa into

27 the Portuguese language. Goa, 25:ix:1711.

[signed] *Bwana Ndau ibn al-Sayyid Mbwana Shaka*

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# Portuguese Sources on Problems of Plant Introductions in India

*Jaweed Ashraf*

Plants have always been an important item of cultural life of the people of diverse societal status in all civilizations and cultures. Classical Egypt is full of such scenes of plants being given as gifts; it is the same with Mesopotamia where plant bearers in procession led by those carrying ananas are well known. Pompeii mosaics underline this fact and Indian tradition in this respect is well known, both in sculptures and through Ajanta frescoes.

It seems knowledge of this tradition made Sir Thomas Roe demand good quality fruits as presents to the Mughal court on grounds of well established tradition of India[1] and in all probability he got ananas varieties from Mexico for such presentation. These in all possibility were the plants mentioned by Jahangir as growing in his Zar-Afshan garden[2] underlining the fact that India then already had the know-how to cultivate ananas as simple presentation of fruit would not guarantee overcoming problems of cultivation in the open. It may be noted that ananas as a species is obligate vegetatively propagated plant, multiplied either by the crown of leaves or by nodes on its underground stem.

This tradition of floral presentation or their cultivation in private gardens is not the point. What is to be noted is the interesting but normally ignored fact that none but the later day translators of various travel accounts consider such bringing in plants by individuals, be it in Goa of Della Valle or Court of Jahangir, as their *introduction.* In other words, it is obvious, as we will see, that plant introduction should mean something more than just bringing in particular plants into a new territory. Not just individual — even the highest individual — but society as a whole seems to be involved in the process of plant introduction that essentially satisfies felt societal needs. This understanding emerges clearly if we seriously look into this aspect of cultural reality of both Orient and Occident. This basic aspect cuts across civilizations and centuries as can be seen both in the Ashokan edicts of ancient India and medieval British documentation from 16th century Europe.

## ASHOKAN ROCK EDICTS ON PLANT INTRODUCTION

The implications of plant introduction can be inferred quite clearly from Ashokan rock edict-II where *inter alia* it is explicitly stated that,

"Medicinal herbs, suitable for men and animals, have been imported and planted wherever they were not previously available. Also, where roots and fruits were lacking, they have been imported and planted."[3]

From the above citation it is obvious that (a) the reason for bringing in new plants lies in felt need of the society i.e. there has to be some societal compulsion for the effort and consequently, reasonable backing from the State to sustain the process; (b) it is implied that the region from where needed plant could be aquired should also be known i.e. knowledge about herbs of the given region is a *sin qua non* implying cultural contacts; (c) there has to be minimum expertise for cultivation of the new plant i.e. in one form or the other, the aquiring region should be able to use already available known-how on a scale corresponding to societal need; (d) the State as an institution takes interest in the spread and well-being of the introduced plant over its territory inorder to cater for the societal need.

Without all these preconditions, simple bringing in of plants by individuals cannot be distinguished from plant introductions as a process. The two are very different situations.

It is obvious from the above discussion that the State plays an important role in the entire process of identification, bringing in cultivation and spread of the introduced plant that as a process is summarized in the term Plant Introduction. Plant introduction essentially turns out to be a socio-economic step taken by the society through the State in an organized manner. Individual contributions become significant or otherwise in the given societal frame of reference. Except within this frame of reference we cannot separate successes and failures of individual cases. This is what ancient India manifests on this count; otherwise Ashokan edict simply makes no sense and we cannot explain why pain was taken to engrave it.

This was the tradition of ancient India that continued during the medieval times and this is what plant introduction in Indian tradition means.

## CONCEPT OF PLANT INTRODUCTION IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Let us take England as an illustration of medieval Europe for the simple reason that these sources are easily accessible to Indian scholars as other languages for our intellectuals pose an unsurmountable barrier. In any case, as we will see, cross-referencing to other countries of Europe in British documents underlines their representative nature.

*The Directions* issued by Richard Hakluyt in 1579 to Morgan Hubblethorne, Dyer of the Company going to Persia underlines why and how plants were desired by the then society represented by the then British State. Real purpose in all these efforts seems to be import substitution in UK and her colonies; it is not plant introduction in colonies for improving the lot of the natives belonging to the colonies.

*In these Directions*[4] basic characteristics of the British effort emerge very explicitly, viz."... therefore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren countries were seene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme... (which) will follow the setting of our poor on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying;... And therefore you must have great care to have knowledge of the materials of all the countries that you shall pass thorow, that may be used in dying, be they herbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths or what else soever..."

Later in the same text this point is further clarified by example of indigo so vital for British interests; "You shall find Anile there, if you can procure the herb that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to cary into England, you may do well to rendevour to enrich your country with the same.... Set downe in writing whatsoever you shall learne from day to day.... come death or life your countrey may enjoy the thing that you goe for.... If before you returne you could procure a singular good workman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme.."

One can see from the above that felt needs of the society, systematic effort, economic interest of the State and related conditions that emerged from ancient India through Ashokan edict were also characteristic of medieval European effort, guiding it into plant introductions. In other words, be it ancient India or medieval Europe, certain preconditions, mechanisms and procedures characterise plant introduction as a process irrespective of the King or Company carrying it out. Later development of botanical gardens as R & D facilities, erection of barriers for plant movements etc. are simply further detailing of individual aspects of these preconditions in their specificities under given societal conditions of medieval Europe.

Medieval Europe was beset with mutual rivalries primarily on account of clashes of economic interests between European countries wherein plant introductions played a very crucial role as natural resources were the only resources available to them or to any society

anywhere. Competition being characteristic of the new economic order emerging in the Occident, plant introductions in this context acquired an added significance and became the focus of strong state interest and of consequent rivalries which were of dual nature; between Muslim kingdoms and Christian European powers i.e. continuation of the mental framework of the Crusade traditions; and between various European States due to clashes of their respective economic interests. This duality is clearly visible in the documents available from diverse European sources.

"Learne you there to fixe and make sure the colour to be given by logge wood; so shall we not need to buy woad so deare, to the enriching of our enemies..." says the same document. In other words the Muslim kingdoms, be these Persia, Turkey or Mughal India, were all enemies of Christian Europe of the medieval times. Against Muslim medieval Orient, Europe was united; otherwise Europe was a house divided on itself due to their mutual economic interests and rivalries.

Hence, problems of plant introductions are to be visualised in the background of this duality.

Let us not forget that 15th — 17th century Europe was basically trying to break away from monopoly domination of a few Oriental countries, including Mughal India, on spice and medicinal herb trade as they were dependent on this trade for their food conservation for long and harsh winters and Graeco-Arab system of medicine dominated not only Europe but the colonies like Goa as an extension of the mother country where European textbooks were taught in the institutions of higher medical learning and till very late in the day it was Avicenna and his recommended herbs along with *Ayurveda* that dominated the scene in Goa[5]. In other words, Europe even till the 19th century was dependent upon medicinal herbs and spices of the Orient. The process of replacement of herbal medicine by industrial products was very slow and lasted till the 19th century when chemistry came of age, virtually in the second half of the 19th century.

Modern medicine in essence is the concerted European effort to break out of this dependency on Oriental herbals that were draining their gold "into a bottomless pit".

Alternate purchase sources of spices and medicinal herbs was in fact a determined attempt by medieval Europe as a whole to introduce bargain prices through mutual competition among various supplier

Oriental countries, including India. Efforts like those of Garcia de Orta, Acosta and Rheede were directed to this end. Colonization of Latin America played a significant role in this transformation of the herbal trade price pattern for European trade.

It is this context in which certain plants were also taken from one colony into another where better politico-administrative situation prevailed viz. pineapple from Brazil to Macao and not to India, inorder to get desired quality at cheaper price through captive cultivation.

It is this context in which the term *India Orientalis* is often used by Portuguese sources[6]. It is the 20th century translation of it as *East India*[7], that initiates a confusion which spreads through citations while contemporary understanding as given in 14th — 17th century maps[8] is simply not taken into consideration.

## EARLY EUROPEAN FLORAL STUDIES IN INDIA AND THE NEW WORLD

Analysis of the contents of the flora of Indian medicinal herbs compiled by de Orta[9] and its comparison with the flora of medicinal herbs compiled for India by Rheede[10] not only underlines the difference between Portuguese and Dutch herbal interests in India but comparing de Orta with the flora of medicinal herbs for the New World compiled by Monardis[11] and Acosta[12], both representing Portuguese interests in Latin America, not only points to Portuguese herbal interests in the two regions but show the commonality between the flora of the two regions which turns out to be around 40% in the category of medicinal herbs alone[13]. This overlap certainly takes much steam out of the later day de Condollean claims of New World floral uniqueness[14]. Obviously, if agricultural and timber plants are also taken into account, this percentage would further rise to attain yet more significant overlap of more than 50%. For this aspect of replacing Orient by Latin America there is no dearth of evidence which underlines that this clash of European interest in herbal trade went to the extent of confiscation of plant samples in Latin America as well as on the high seas, complaints, legal challenges etc. that obviously resulted in consequent tensions all over Europe of 16th — 18th centuries on grounds of this clash of interest in Latin America.

England was a late entrant in this race. The Portuguese were the masters of the seas. Hence British assertion about Portuguese introductions was because they could not establish their primacy on

such counts. Basic purpose of such assertions seems to underline that Oriental agriculture as such and particularly Indian agriculture was backward till the arrival of the Europeans and consequent colonial effort to change the situation. Historians of Indian agriculture and economy seem to agree with these British assertions as their primary sources are all English; they could not verify non-English sources; their paradigm was basically Anglo-European[15].

Contrary evidence in various representative introduced herbal cases viz. maize[16], tobacco[17], cashewnut[18],ananas[19], custard apple[20], guava[21], China-rose and others[22] have been discussed as individual case studies and involved theoretical aspects of the problem have been dealt with in a separate monographic study[23]. European situation concerning pre-Columbian maize has been discussed by Sauer[24] on the basis of the Vatican and other contemporary documentation like the testimony of Leo Africanus.

It is amazing that nobody has paid any attention so far to Pompeii and Ajanta where ananas is clearly depicted in all its botanical characteristics underlining that not only Mesopotamia but also the Roman Empire knew of it much before the discovery of the New World and its introduction into Europe. Cultural evidence of pre-Columbian contacts between the Old and New Worlds is serious indeed[25].

## TRADE WARS AND RESTRICTIONS ON PLANT MOVEMENT IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Europe of 16th — 19th century presents a situation fundamentally very different from the one required for plant introductions. It is a picture not of peace demanded by introduction efforts but of trade wars, erection of barriers and reprisals everywhere in Europe and in European colonies during these centuries which is not congenial for plant introductions. This is contrary to the picture of the efforts at plant introductions that are not just charity but systematic and sustained State patronised efforts in which missionary efforts enter late in the day when market is already created. Missionaries did not lead the process but they did provide additional side support.

Within Europe this is the phase of competitive botanical collections and establishment of botanical gardens for steps helpful in competition viz. (a) Collection of floral material, study of it from the point of view of their **potential** economic use; (b) study of climatic conditions required for primarily tropical or sub-tropical plant understanding in relation to their adaptation and later attempts at their cultivation either in warmer

regions of Europe or in similar situations in colonies of European powers viz. Portugal, Spain and Great Britain; (c) regionalisation of various varieties of economically significant plants for their maximal yields. This point is clearly visible in the relevant botanical literature from continental Europe[26] where even during the first half of the 19th century, studies were essentially centered round familiarization with various aspects of economically significant plants collected from all over the world during various earlier expeditions and other efforts both on land and in the Oceans. Portuguese archival material not only fully supports this understanding but provides some very interesting insights.

On 31st March 1680, Viceroy of Goa Antonio Paes de Sande was reminded that he should fulfill orders sent to his predecessor and send seedlings of clove, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg and garlic along with planting instructions every year for their plantation in Brazil[27] i.e. Lisbon was testing varieties from different places but under similar climatic conditions within her empire to identify maximally yielding forms for the given climatic conditions. Material was going from India to Brazil as there always was a certain amount of uncertainity about Portuguese rule in Goa till the relations between England and Portugal got stabilized later in the 19th century in Europe itself.

In 1799, sugarcane plants were sent to Lisbon alongwith technical instructions, obviously for their plantation in suitable regions of the Portuguese empire[28] i.e. about a century later. It was yet a repeat performance of the trend visible earlier.

It seems till this date Europe was introducing plant varieties already growing in one climatic region of the empire into other parts for ascertaining best economic performance but not *de novo* introduction of species i.e. not venturing introduction of species into colonies from outside for which politico-administrative certainty required was simply not there.

It is interesting to note that Lisbon began showing interest in a number of plants other than the then economically significant ones and specimens of such mundane tropical plants from India as teak and scent plants like *Champa, Suranga, Venval* were also dispatched to Lisbon for collection, study and regional cultivation in suitable places[29]. The purpose of such studies seems to be to identify potentiality, the need for which is manifest in the botanical literature cited above.

What is repeatedly seen in Portuguese documentation of this period is the fact of Indian material going either to Lisbon or to Latin America;

it is not the other way round which is a *sin qua non* for plant introductions into India as is attributed by all to the Portuguese.

Search for alternate sources as an important consideration for augmenting profits in spice and medicinal herbal trade quite clearly emerges even from the various early writings of Garcia de Orta and Rheede[30] representing respectively the Portuguese and Dutch interests in India and Acosta[31] and Clusio[32] representing Portuguese interest in Latin America as they clearly mention the purpose of the books composed by them to be information for the traders and mariners about details of various sources for the same herbal material i.e. informing them about the alternates.

This aspect of breaking the price monopoly is quite clearly manifest in the Instructions issued by Hakluyt to Factors going to Turkey[33]. This document illustrates a number of points through examples of plant introductions into England (from the text, one is not sure if the example is from England proper or from colonies as the two then were considered to be a single entity) as well as through successful efforts of Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians and then goes on to exhort even smuggling in national interest if other alternates fail.

In all probability we have till now failed to see the implications of herbal dependence of Europe on the Orient till the emergence of chemical industry in the 19th century to provide substitutes. Looking only at travellers' accounts and ignoring official instructions reflecting government policy in the same multi-volume collection of official documents has not only left many a cobweb in place but is bad research methodology. This dependence and policy of import substitution for Europe completely negates the basic paradigm implied in introduction theory in any form.

## CASE STUDY OF TOBACCO IN MEDIEVAL OCCIDENT AND THE ORIENT

Tobacco is a classical example of plant introductions attributed to the Portuguese on the basis of its de Condollean assignment of *Nicotiana* as genus as a whole to Latin America that illustrates various aspects of the process of plant introductions discussed above. Details about Indian tradition regarding tobacco during ancient, medieval and pre-historic times are given elsewhere[34].

Europe came to know of smoking *per se* after knowing tobacco smoking in Latin America. For Europeans, as per present understanding, smoking as a tradition began only after Columbus returned from his

first voyage from Latin America in 1492. Following is the progress of tobacco spread in medieval Europe. Old World tradition in this context was very different; these go back to Nile and Indus Valley Civilizations[35].

Portugal is assumed to have got tobacco in 1492 i.e. after the return of Columbus from his first voyage.

Spain is supposed to have got it in 1559.

In the year 1560 it seems to have reached France.

Germany got it in 1665.

England came to know it in 1586[36].

In other words, it took about two centuries for tobacco to spread over a contiguous and culturally more or less homogeneous area. This fact points to and underlines substantial absence of societal perception all over Europe of any economic benefit from tobacco during these times. Absence of congenial societal response is also underlined by the persecution that smoking entailed everywhere in medieval Europe.

In 1624 Pope Urban punished smokers by excommunication; in 1633 smokers were thrown out of the city of Wurtenberg; in 1634 smokers were publicly beaten in Russia and tobacco sale was entirely banned in the whole empire[37].

Though England was not so harsh, amount of tobacco mentioned in Bowary Papers dealing in trade with India is conspicuous by its miserable amount.

As can be seen quite clearly, 16th — 17th century in Europe was no time for societal encouragements for tobacco consumption. There was no incentive for its cultivation or investigations into its usage that is a pre-requisite for its commercial production and profit visualization. This, among other requirements is the basis for introduction outside the Realms.

As we have seen earlier, this felt need of the society is a basic requirement for any attempt at plant introduction anywhere for which tobacco is no exception. In other words, 1604-5 as the date for tobacco introduction into India[38] is based on a very superficial and uncritical interpretation by Euro-centric intelligentsia of the account of Asad Beg Qazwaini after his return from Goa. By this time, Europe had hardly known tobacco as a plant and, as we have seen, the price paid in Europe for handling tobacco in any manner was rather too high. Designating tobacco as of Latin American origin and then asserting its

introduction all over the Old World is rather slippery basis for developing any historical framework of understanding the plant or problems related to it. It is also a weak wicket in botanical interpretation of data available in Portuguese sources as we will see a bit later. However, soon the situation in Europe changed radically. The rate of this change was very fast as Europe realised very quickly, the significance of huge profits involved in tobacco trade.

Peter The Great encouraged smoking in Russia and in the Russian Empire in order to further expand tobacco cultivation in the warmer regions of the Russian Empire.

Though small, the British began tobacco trade with India in the 18th century. We may underline that the material entering India was dried leaves and not cultivable seeds as trade in tobacco, and not creating commercial rivals was in the interest of Europe. Trade wars were to follow in the wake. Sprouts breaking the ground in the Remembrances to Factors and Dyers of the Company issued by Hakluyt during the 16th century were maturing and were already bearing their first flowers and fruits.

On 20th March, 1736, the King of Portugal decreed prohibition on the introduction of foreign tobacco into Portugal, *Estado da India* and Brazil and empowered the authorities to take all suitable action in this respect[39]. The distinction implied in the order is extremely interesting. It clearly demarcates economic interests the world over as exchange of material between various colonies and Mother country as it could continue on the basis of plant improvement through selection, regionalisation and breeding of new varieties and help tobacco trade within the Empire, but the political borders, for example of Portuguese colonies in India, were turned into official barriers for plant material to cross. It is in this background that one can really appreciate the desire of the king expressed in a document dated 17th April, 1736 sending a list of plants to Viceroy Conde de Sandomil and asking him to send their seeds and other reproductive material to Lisbon[40]. As mentioned earlier,such demands were nothing new for either Lisbon to make or Goa to fulfill. However, this is not what we attribute to the Portuguese; it is just the opposite i.e. it is not introduction into India but into Portugal and other parts of the Portuguese Empire from India.

Erection of trade barriers in the movement of specific commercially significant plants only further accelerated the process of floral import isolation within Europe and European colonies that was yet going on

for some time. Dotting of Imperial Botanical Gardens all over major trade centres of Europe has this factual logic at its roots.

Emergence of monopoly trade, search for alternate sources, commercial crop research in colonies and extraction of most favoured nation treatment at the cost of competitors is the characteristic feature of this period which certainly does not at all augur well for plant introductions in regions of either political or administrative uncertainty. India then was exactly such a region because or inspite of all divisions and mutual feuds within India.

## SITUATION IN 18TH CENTURY EUROPE AND IN INDIA

18th century saw the sharpening of focus in economic interests of major European powers resulting in major wars between them not only in Europe but also in their various colonies the world over. François Martin[41] provides a glimpse of this complex in French-Portuguese relations in Europe resulting in naval encounters on Indian coasts; Mughal and other court intrigues between various conflicting European interests on the sub-continent are matter of textbook accounts and European battlefields leading to mutual settlements of politico-economic borders during this century in Europe are too famous and well known to need any discussion here. In one word, Europe of 18th century was a very unsettled Europe and the overflow of these conditions could be felt all over the colonial world.

As plant introduction involves estimates of positive returns from this effort, it is obvious that 18th century Europe was not at all a place ripe for such efforts. What was being done on the continent, and this is clearly manifest in contemporary botanical accounts, was to collect, analyse and study flora of the whole world through expeditions both on land and seas, with an eye on **future** and **potential** economic returns. Portuguese documents, herbal trade material from various European powers and botanical sources cited above, all make sense in this context. Unstable Europe should not be expected to do anything else.

In India also much was happening on battlefields, in trading warehouses and in various courts. Portuguese interests were facing threats as underlined by various tensions in Mughal-Portuguese relations visible in Surat warehouses and *Kothis* as well as in Mughal-Portuguese tensions round Goa itself. British were instigating anti-Portuguese steps in various courts. French were after the same in the south against both English and Portuguese. This was no time for the Portuguese to invest in serious efforts, the results of which could only be harvested in a

future that was not only full of uncertainties but also loaded with potentials of poaching by both hostile and 'friendly' European partners. Plant introduction in India in this context obviously was a back-bencher. Inspite of all theories and assertions it could not have been otherwise.

It is this **politico-economic** reality that is reflected not only in the above documents but also in the fact that during this entire period the British, even after establishing the Imperial Botanical Garden in Howrah-Calcutta, did not do much in terms of plant introduction even in their most secure three Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay. Their major plant studies through Surveys and Asiatic Societies also do not belong to 18th century. These are a century later when politico-administrative situation had radically changed. As a matter of fact during these times the British were collecting information about the geography of the sub-continent with the hope that it may be of some use in future. This is the essence of Major Rennel's famous Atlas[42]; this is what the voluminous account of German traveller Tiefenthaler is all about[43].

With the Mughal empire getting weaker and weaker, the sub-continent emerged as a major playground of European interest. The conflicts in interests of European powers in India became more and more operative during this century.

While the Portuguese had occupied the Oceans and seas in the region, it was land where the British had been concentrating. Since long, they were investigating and influencing the land route to India via both West and Central Asia even when major part of it was under direct Russian domination. Central Asia had long been the centre of British-Russian relations without anyone having any inkling about it.[44]

Confirmation of the suspicion that Nadir Shah was instigated by the British to attack India to put the last nail in the coffin of the Mughal Empire lingering on the deathbed for long[45] is interesting and amazing, both as this conclusion is based on archival material which dovetails various Remembrances and Instructions issued by Hakluyt a century earlier.

This in fact was in the 18th century both in Europe and in India which explains the observed fact that all assertions about plant introductions are **before** this century as during these times any assertion regarding plant introductions under such unstable conditions becomes too obviously wrong. This entire background explains why there has

been no solid evidence on any count of plant introduction till date. It seems this evidence is simply not there!

To sum up, politico-economics of plant introduction demands politico-administrative stability that guarantees that introduced competitive economically significant varietal plant material does not leak to rivals or sudden upheavals do not completely wipe out the efforts. Such a situation also guarantees minimum returns on the basis of secure internal market. As such conditions could not be had in India of those days at all, and were rare even in Europe, attempts at plant introductions should not be visualised at any substantial scale. However, this does not rule out individuals bringing in decoratives or fruits of minor value especially those whose cultivation related know-how and internal market was already available in India. The last point clearly emerges from the study of Portuguese material on the flora of Goa and Savantvadi.

## "FLORA DE GOA E SAVANTVADI" OF DALGADO

Published first in 1898[46], this is the only official account on flora of Goa and Savantvadi, the region supposed to have been the primary focus of Portuguese plant introductions. Obviously, prominent among such assumed introductions are maize, tobacco, cashewnut, ananas, etc. About custard-apple / bullock's heart (*Anona squamosa*,L. and *A. raticulata, L* respectively) Dalgado in his account mentions that origin of most species of the genus is tropical America. However, about *A. raticulata* it is clearly mentioned that the plant is both cultivated and *"quasi espontanea"* i.e. grows without being cultivated. Contemporary British assertions attributing introduction of custard-apple to Portuguese initiative simply is not borne out by botanical facts. It is the same for *Eujenia jambulana* or rose-apple.

It is the same story with *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L* or the Chinese-rose, a very popular decorative all over India. This species is recognised as "quasi naturalizada". However, as against British assertions, Dalgado clearly mentions it to be "Da China" i.e. of China, which implies that the Portuguese do not support the British assertions that it is a plant of Latin American origin. Question of Portuguese introduction simply does not arise.

Most significant statement of Dalgado concerns *Anacardium occidentale, L* or cashewnut. Dalgado, after giving the standard origin of it as "Do Brazil" adds, "cultivada e quasi espontanea", i.e. both cultivated and uncultivated types were there in Goa. There is no mention

in the text about Portuguese introducing cashewnut as has been clearly discussed by Dalgado in cases where Portuguese introductions for Goa viz. *Hugonia mystax* (p-20), *Argemone maxicana* (p. 6) and about such non-traditional species as *Diospyros paniculata,* introduced into Goa by the Portuguese from "Ceylao e de Malaca"; or for that matter in case of *Symplocus beddomei,* introduced into Goa from "Sumatra e Siao". In other words, the Portuguese botanical sources are very particular about mentioning from where Goa and Savantvadi got its non-native plants. Not mentioning introduction in very famous Latin American plant cases cannot be taken as an oversight as the authors are officially responsible for exact plant introductions both in Goa and in Latin America viz. Acosta. This context gives added significance to th absence of any reference to Portugal about a number of plants generally attributed to the Portuguese as instruments in their introductions.

Absence of Portuguese contribution in the above context is made abundantly clear through the example of potato or *Solanum tuberosum, L* when in this case it is clearly stated that, *"não se da bem n'estes estados; seria proveitosa a sua cultura nas Gattes"* i.e at the fag end of the last century potato in Goa and Savantvadi, where this Latin American plant is supposed to have been first of all introduced, was yet under preliminary studies while its medical use under the Mughals can be taken back to Shah Jahan and market availability of it is clearly indicated during the reign of Aurangzeb! And potato "introduction" is attributed by all to the Portuguese at a time and at a place where societal agreement on its consumption during this time could not be assumed. We should remember Russia of Peter The Great and the famous Potato Rebellion led by his own son who had to be executed!

About chilli-pepper or *capsicum sp. L* it is mentioned by Dalgado that it has been brought into Goa and that it is being cultivated in Bombaim. Dalgado also mentions popular folk medical use of chillies in rheumatism but without reference to any school of medicine. We have the evidence of Acosta who described it in Latin America and mentioned in his text that a smaller type of it also grows in the Orient during 16th century. It seems the medical use of chilli-pepper was quite general. This is why Acosta did not further narrow his focus[47]. In this context, the diversity of Portuguese sources have not been properly analysed and understood.

Tobacco *(Nicotiana tabacum, L)*, presents a very interesting situation. Dalgado has the following to say on this count : *"Da America;*

*tem sido experimentalmente cultivada n'estes estados, mas sem resultados favoraveis.... O fumo do tabaco e um remedio popular contra os ataques convulsivos de creanças provenientes das lombrigas."*

There are two very interesting moments in the above text; (a) in 1898 tobacco status in Goa in quite clear - experimental, unstudied in details but with encouraging results; (b) however, at the same time it is a popular medicine i.e. folk use of tobacco is mentioned quite clearly. There should be no confusion on account of tobacco in Goa in the light of Oriental knowledge going back to Indus and Nile Valley civilizations as demonstrated by us in above mentioned citations. Is it correct to attribute tobacco introduction to Portuguese?

*Ananas sativa, L or* pineapple presents an identical situation; "*Da America; cultivada e quasi spontanea*" is the only comment Dalgado makes without making it clear if this description refers to cultivated types i.e. *"Da America"*, or to the others i.e. those growing in villages under uncultivated or natural conditions. However, explicit mention of Portuguese in this context is entirely absent from medieval herbal accounts of Goa and Savantvadi. This statement is also to be seen in the background of ananas in 16th century India mentioned by both de Orta and Rheede[48].

Maize *(Zea mays, L)*, one of the prime attributions to the Portuguese also presents a very interesting situation. Dalgado mentions about it that it is *"cultivada em pequena scala" (cultivated on a smaller scale)*. What sort of introduction it is that neither Goa nor Lisbon is stimulating its spread even till these times while its *export* evidence on the basis of Portuguese sources themselves can be taken for Gujarat back to 1515 and normal cultivation in the region is clearly indicated by the Portuguese during the same century[49]. Storing of maize in the Portuguese forts of Kilwa and Sofala can be taken back to 1505 as it was the primary ration to Portuguese ships in the Indian Ocean[50]. Comment of Father Monserrate on this count indicating its collection in Agra during Kabul campaign of Akbar is also eye-opener evidence neglected so far[51]. Comment of Dalgado taken together with other Portuguese sources should put the 17th century introduction theory in proper perspective[52].

In a paper like the present one it is not possible to analyse all individual cases of Portuguese plant introductions in order to separate genuine from those not so. However, the above illustrations of the

*Prima dona* introductions underline the problems involved. It may be pointed out that a large number of garden plants, introduced into India by both Portuguese and British, remain undiscussed for the simple reason that under given societal situation these were of no serious economic significance. Attribution of introduction to Portuguese of economically significant cash crop plants like maize, potato, tobacco, ananas etc. and that too by the British seems to underline the credit European colonizers as a whole wanted to take. They wanted by this theory to underline the benefits of colonial domination and to denigrate local knowledge, efforts and achievements in agriculture and horticulture before their arrival on the scene. Since the British were late comers, someone had to be singled out for such attribution. Portuguese, the earliest reaching the Indian and other Old World shores offered the best choice that all historians, scientists and others, took on the face value. There is now more than enough to warrant reconsideration of the whole paradigm centered round attributions and assertions of Portuguese plant introductions that we have been believing in so far.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Goa Archives; Central Library, Goa; National Library, Calcutta; British Museum, London; Botanical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersberg; Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla and Rachol Monastery of Goa for making old books and documents in their respective collections available.

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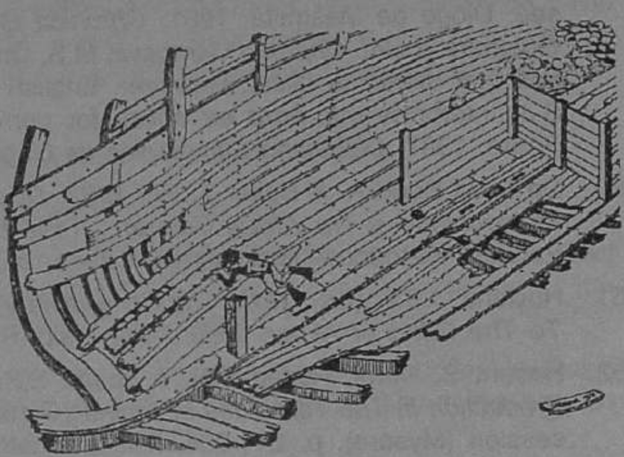
# Archives and Nautical Archaeology : Late 17th century Portuguese shipbuilding in India and the *fragata* "Santo Antonio de Tanna"

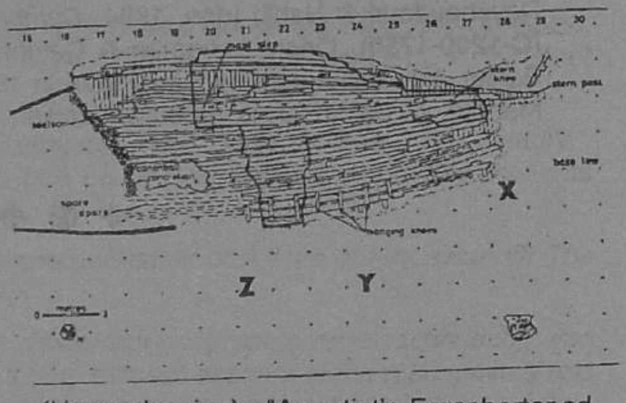
*Jean-Yves Blot and Maria Luisa Blot*

In 1697, the Portuguese vessel *S°. A°. de Tanna* was sunk in action while trying to retake the fortress of Jesus in Mombasa. After some salvage by local divers in the coming months, the shipwreck site was forgotten until sportsdivers located it again in the early 1970's and attracted the attention of James Kirkman, Curator of the then recently created Fort Jesus Museum.

In 1976 the National Museums of Kenya invited the American Institute of Nautical Archaeology of Texas A & M University, College Station, Texas (A. I. N. A.)[1] to survey the wrecksite. In 1977 both institutions started a several years long underwater excavation project under the direction of archaeologist Robin Piercy, from INA[2].

This was to be the first Portuguese shipwreck site to be excavated under full archaeological criterion, with complete recording of isolated finds and wooden structure observed on the bottom. Among other Portuguese shipwreck sites of the colonial period known to have been salvaged at that time were several XVIth






(Upper drawing) : "An artist's Foreshortened projection of the stern part of the (S°. A°. de Tanna) wreck". Drawing by Carolone Sassoon.

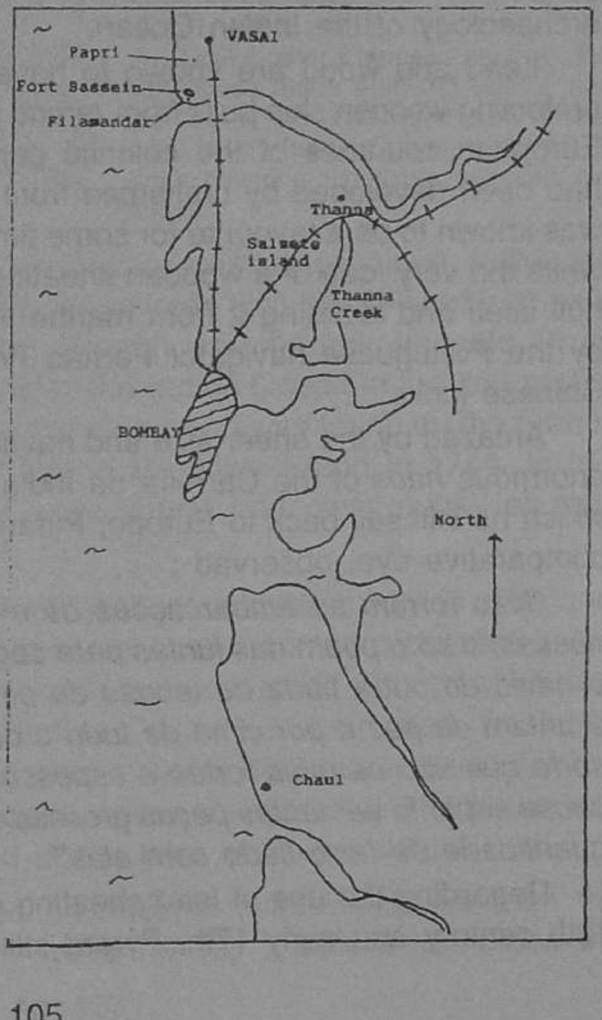
(Lower drawing) : "Plan based on survey of the surviving timbers of the ship. The area shaded... was excavated in 1977, and the unshaded area was excavated in 1978".

Both drawing and plan reproduced from Robin Piercy : "Mombasa wreck excavation". National Museums of Kenya/Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas. Third Interim Report, March, 1978.

and XVIIth centuries sites in South Africa, one site in Brazil (Sacramento, 1668) and another one in Seychelles[3]. Only the Santiago, lost in 1668 off the coast of Bahia, in northern Brazil, had been then published to some extent by Brazilian archaeologist Ulysses Pernambucano de Mello[4].

Dealing with a late 17th century archaeological site, the Mombasa project relied heavily on historical data from the period extracted at the start by James Kirkman from published documents concerning Fort Jesus of Mombasa' history[5]. This archaeologist had referred to initial finds made by local sportsdivers on the wrecksite.

The specific conditions of the muddy bottom in the sea channel at the entrance of Mombasa harbour allowed for a good preservation of a significant amount of wooden remains from the hull and from its decorations originally nailed to the upper stern area. A careful survey of the well preserved lower part of the hull, built out of teak wood, led Robin Piercy, Director of excavations, to require from the authors an historical and archaeological investigation in India in order to establish the circumstances of the building of the ship on the western coast of India, in an area believed to be in the vicinity of the city of Tanna, between Bombay and Vasai, on the western coast of India (see sketch-map).




Besides the vessel itself, a careful selection of drawings and pictures of artefacts found in the Mombasa shipwrecksite was provided to the authors by Robin Piercy in order to elucidate the possible Indian origin of some artefacts, namely ceramics.

A mission was therefore organized targeting on Goa Archives and intending to

probe at the historical/archaeological context in the Goa area. This second part included a voyage to former Bassein (Vasai) area in order to evaluate the local traditional shipbuilding and woodcarving craftmanship there.

Research on *Santo Antonio de Tanna* is a case of investigation on the interface history / archaeology. Theoretical aspects of such interface have rarely been explored.

Both approaches, by the historian and by the archaeologist, differ so widely that in most cases, archaeological excavations are undertaken before a historical survey has been able to fully establish what may prove to be a major axis of later archaeological investigation.

Some details, minor items to the historian, prove to be crucial clues to the archaeologist. An example is a mention of five small vessels ("galias") to be prepared in India in 1737 : *"Sinco (sic) galias, de que hua necesita de ser forrada"*[6].

The mention of a *"Forro"* (protective sheeting of the submerged parts of the hull) leads to a vastly untouched theme of nautical archaeology of the Indian Ocean.

Lead and wood are known to have been used for covering and protecting wooden ship hulls from *teredo navalis* (sea-worms) in different European countries of the colonial period while specific techniques had been developed by craftsmen from the Indian Ocean area. Lead was known to be a favourite for some time on Spanish colonial vessels while the very idea of a wooden sheating made of planks covering the hull itself and isolating it from marine life was seen for the first time by the Portuguese navigator Fernão Peres de Andrade in China on Chinese junks[7].

Amazed by the sheer size and naval expertise represented by the enormous *naos* of the Carreira da India in the early XVIIth century in which he will sail back to Europe, Pyrard de Laval, with an acute and comparative eye, observed :

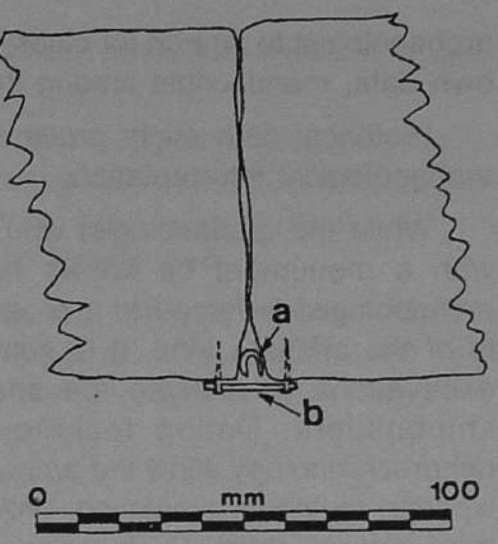
*"Não forram as embarcações de chumbo como nós fazemos às nossas; e só o poem nas juntas para segurar a estopa; depois cobrem o navio de outra fiada de tabuas de pinho, e outra vez o calafetam, e untam de pez e por cima de tudo o cobrem do enxôfre e cebo. De sorte que são os mais fortes e espessos navios que ver se podem,e causa espanto ver tantas peças grossas de pau ajustadas e tão grande quantidade de ferro liado com elas"*[8].

Regarding the use of lead sheating on French vessels of the late 16th century and early 17th, Pyrard still comments :

*"Não acho que seja conveniente forrar os navios de chumbo, como nós haviamos feito ao nosso. Porque, conquanto isso possa servir contra a bicho, e atalhar que fure o navio, todavia ficam assim os navios mui pesados. E os Portugueses não se servem do chumbo sanão nas juntas e união das tábuas...."*[9].

It is not surprising therefore that precisely such a technique was observed on the shipwreck site of a mid - 16th century Portuguese vessel lost in Seychelles islands[10].

It is common knowledge that nautical techniques spread and intermix deeply and quickly, a reason why nautical archaeologists are frequently "diffusionists" when trying to explain the coming of a specific technique in a widely spread territory[11]..




"Midship section through a plank seam showing : a, lead caulking in the seams, b, lead strips covering seams".

Reproduced from W. Blake & J. Green : "A mid-XVIth century Portuguese wreck in the Seychelles", I.J.N.A., Vol. 15, nº1, 1986, p.5, fig. 6

Unlike other Eurpoean seamen, the Portuguese made a limited use of lead sheating in the underwater part of their ships in the Indian Ocean, limiting it to strips covering the joints between two planks.

May be an adaptation of an originally Asian technique, a wooden sheating made of soft wood planks covered with broad-head iron nails will be common practice on French commercial vessels (from *"Compagnie des Indes")* sailing to the Indian Ocean in the first part of the 18th century. An example of such a wood was found on the French East Indiaman *"Saint-Géran"* lost in Mauritius Island in 1744. In this case, the scanty remains of wood found had clear marks of nails spaced 2.2 to 2.3 cm apart[12].

On the other hand, hardened layers of complex mixtures of organic materials were (and still are in some cases) common practice in the Indian Ocean shipyards. They have been observed with great interest by Europeans sailing in the Indian Ocean[13]. In one case, we found such a testimony regarding this eastern technique used by the Portuguese in Brazil and Europe[14], with a mention of a Brazilian wood, Tapiguoan, that we shall find again, later on in this article.

This kind of investigation on material culture requires from the historian an "archaeological" eye or to say it otherwise, forces the

archaeologist to search for clues in information supports other than his own data, manuscripts among them.

Historical data might prove essential at the most basic steps of archaeological interpretation.

While the archaeologist who excavates a building on land deals with a monument he knows has been built locally, the nautical archaeologist is forced to a broader approach, specially if the vessel is of the offshore kind. It is common practice nowadays in nautical excavations to analyse the species of timbers employed by the shipbuilders. Dating techniques accurate within a year like dendrochronology allow the archaeologist to know precisely the age of wooden materials employed, provided we know roughly before hand their area of origin. Such techniques have allowed archaeologists to determine not only the original materials of a boat but the posterior steps of the maintenance observed, each repair possibly refering to different origins of materials.

This is where historical data might prove essential. A Spanish man-of-war built in Cuba shipyards in early 1770 was heavily repaired in Peru and Brazil 14 years later —obviously with different kinds of timbers — before being shipwrecked on the coast of Portugal[15].

Historical research introduces a similar caution with the wooden materials to be found on the submerged remains of *S⁰ A⁰ de Tanna,* a vessel which, several years before it hit the reef next to Fort Jesus at Mombasa, had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, all the way to Lisbon.

Most of what is known on 16th/17th centuries Portuguese shipbuilding techniques come from contemporary technical treatises[16]. The 16th century proved to be a crucial period as far as naval architecture of Portuguese vessels sailing from Portugal to India was concerned.

The controversy between *"naos"* (heavy commercial vessels dedicated to the transportation of colonial exports from India to Lisbon) and *"galeões"* (large warships) in the Carreira da India and the very architecture of heavily armed *"naos"* were theme for lengthy technical debates in Lisbon in the first half of the 17th century. Parts of those debates have reached us and have been published or commented[17].

Built on Indian soil in the later part of the century, *Santo Antonio de Tanna* raises another debate, at a time when Portuguese commercial and military vessels in the Indian Ocean were clearly distinguished. In

several documents, *S°. A°. de Tanna* was referred as a 50-gun "frigate" *(fragata).*

Built in a colonial environment days away from Goa shipbuilding headquarters, the ship lost by the Portuguese in Mombasa could vary, from an archaeological point of view, from a western design to a largely oriental architecture still to be determined.

Manuel Godinho, in his travel account *"Relação do Novo Caminho que Fez por Terra e Mar vindo da India para Portugal no Ano de 1663"* refers to shipbuilding in the Bassein area in the following terms:

*"Não é menos provida de toda a sorte de madeira, a qual lhe vem das terras do Cole pelos rios abaixo,em jangadas, e por isso na ribeira de Baçaim se fazem todas as fustas das armadas de remo que el-rei tráz nos mares da India; obram-se tambem galeões, galeotas e patachos muito fermosos e fortes, de pau teca para o que não faltam oficiaes e trabalhadores gentios e mouros, os quais são ali os mestres das obras"*[18].

Such a quotation establishes right from the start the importance of Indian shipbuilding expertise at Bassein shipyards less than two decades before the construction of *S° A° de Tanna,* an essential clue for the subsequent archaeological investigation in Mombasa in an attempt to distinguish 17th century Portuguese from contemporary west Indian practices of shipbuilding.

The borderline between the two was probably hazy if we look at the career overseas of a Manuel Martins, quoted by the *Conselho Ultramarino* on the 23rd February 1682 as *"mestre da Ribeira das Naus de Goa"*, who had come to India in 1652 as a *"grumete"* on the *nao "Nossa Senhora da Graça"*[19].

The same *"Consulta"* refers to Manuel da Costa, who sailed to India in 1673 and served in the *Armada* as a carpenter and *"mestre da Ribeira de Baçaim"* and "contramestre da Ribeira de Goa" *(Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, India, Papeis Avulsos, 1682).*

Shortage of men from Europe was constant. A Portuguese document from the period when *Santo Antonio de Tanna* was being built, issued in Goa on the 24th of January 1681, states :

"The State finds itself quite powerful on the Sea, with offshore vessels, and rowing vessels" (*"O estado se acha com bastante poder no Mar, de embarcações de Alto Bordo, e navios de remo...")* but with heavy shortages of men on land and at sea[20].

**Teakwood from Bassein**

The main strength of Bassein shipyards is the proximity of teak forests. In Vasai today, looking eastwards, the eye catches mountains which the locals still call the "jungle", where is the teak.

In his book *"Indian shipping : a History of the sea-borne trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times"*[21], Radhakumud Mookerji refers to Bassein as an important place situated in the great timber-producing district. Many ships used to load there with timber and carry it to Mecca, where the Turks used it for their fleet.

Relying on an early 17th century personal experience in Portuguese India, Pyrard de Laval says, refering to Goa raw materials sources :

*"De Baçaim vem toda a madeira para a fabricação de casas e navios, e a maior parte destes se fabricam ali"*[22].

Considerations of the same order led the Surat Council to order two vessels, one of 200 tons, the other of 300 tons, to be built in Bombay in 1668[23].

The Portuguese control of timber sources proved to be quite limitative then for the British naval interests newly established in the area since the mid 1660s. David[24] specifies that only small vessels could then be built in Bombay, one of the reasons being that "the timber which came mainly from the Thana and Bhivandi forest was made more expensive by the heavy customs duty imposed by the Portuguese". It led the Portuguese influence in the vicinity to decline, to see Bombay naval construction take a real start in 1735 under the direction of Lavji Nasarvanji Wadia, a master carpenter sent from Surat[25].

But Bombay soon proved to be a source for useful supplies to the Portuguese : Viceroy Conde de Vila Verde writing from Goa to the Capitão de Baçaim on 24th May 1694, refers to a nautical shopping list he sent to Bassein's *feitor* to be purchased in Bombay for Goa's *Ribeira.* Items included tar, cables and some small anchors and "upto 1000 grenades"[26].

Another document from Vila Verde to the same *Captain of Bassein* written three days earlier was asking him to check the possibility of the British based in Bombay to be willing to sell some of their frigates used by the British Company. Vila Verde thought the timing was right for such a proposal since England was then at war in Europe[27].

Much sooner, British interests in the vicinity had played their role too in controlling Portuguese movements. A document from Goa dated 18th May 1678, probably contemporary of the initial building of *Sº Aº de Tanna* at Bassein's shipyards, refers to a 100 xerafins tax levied by the British from Bombay on a *pataxo* from Tanna carrying a boatload from Caranja (where there was a Portuguese fort)[28].

During the Portuguese presence in Bassein, which ended before the middle of the 18th century, Bassein was a place not only for building ships but for repairing them.

A document dated 1674 refers to an expenditure of 56 xerafins for such a case : *"56x-2-45 de galavetas q forão a Chaul cõ soldados e comcerto do balão da armada do estreito"*[29].

A later list of expenses at Bassein *(1730s apparently)* refers to 1701 xerafins *"na compra de Paos de Teca pª o provimento da Ribª"*[30] and another document[31], says further:

*"1592-4-45.... na paga q. fez a Putalagy Parabu Lingoa do Cap. m da Fortaleiza(sic) de Manora na compra de paos de Teca e patingas q. comprou pª o provimº. da Rib$^{ra}$".*

But two decades earlier, teak was scarce when *Sº Aº de Tanna was* almost ready to be sent down the coast to Goa, as referred in a document written in Goa on 22nd October 1680. The order sent from Goa tells Bassein's Portuguese Feitor to look for alternative sources for the teak which was then unavailable through the usual channels[32].

These orders from Goa from late October 1680 ask for the timber to be shipped on board the *fragata* and two *galeotas* built in Bassein and subsequently halted in Goa's *Ribeira.*

***Tanna***

The question of the precise spot where *Santo Antonio de Tanna* was built led to examine from the start the possibility of the vessel to have been built in Tanna itself, a town situated on Salsete island, north of Bombay[33].

Gemelli Carreri, who visited Bassein and Tanna in the late 17th century described the following :

*".. De Bassin a Tana,e da Tana a Bombaim corre un canale d'aque salse, stretto dove mezzo miglio,e dove piu, o meno ; e perche si vede passare per le viscere d'una montagna in vicinanza di goadel, dicono comunemente : Portoghesi; che Alessandro il Grande (secondo alcuni) diverse volte in Bassin, sece tagliare il sasso per lo passagio dell' acque..."* [34].

An informant contacted in Mangalore during the course of the voyage to Goa in 1983, who was a native seaman from Thana, specified that no shipbuilding was presently going on in the area, refering to offshore sea-vessels being built in the Bombay area in a place called V. T. / Nariman Point. Modern (late 1970s or early 1980s?) large-scale landworks seem to be partly responsible for the new configuration of the water interface of the area.

A document from Goa dated Dec. 8, 1686, refers to the building of a fortress on Bassein's bar and of another one *"na povoação de Tanna da ilha de Salcete"*[35].

A list of captains of the Portuguese fortresses in India, from January 1702, specifying the names and period of service of the officers in charge, refers to three fortresses in the Tanna area :

*Cap. do Forte São Hyeronimo de Tanna Manoel Bauptista n¹. de Ourem veo do Rnº em 1685, serve a d. capitania de 17 Out. 1701.*

*Cap. do Forte S. Pedro de Tanna Luis Dorta Henriques n¹. de Cadaval veo do Rnº em 1676, serve a d. capitania de 7 Out 1700 p. tpo de 3 annos.*

*Cap. do Forte Reys Magos de Tanna Manoel de Souza Tavira, n¹. de Tavira, veo do Rnº em 1685, serve a d. capitania de 9 out. 1700 p. tpº de 3 anos..."* [36].

Two decades later (1721), another document refering to Salsete island, within Bassein's jurisdiction, still quoted three forts with the name of Tanna:

Forte São Jeronimo de Tanna

Forte São Pedro do Rio de Tanna

*Forte Reis Magos de Tanna*[37]

During the initial course of the investigation, it was suggested that the vessel might have been built in Tanna itself and not in Bassein. Documents consulted later on at the Goa Historical Archives allowed us to determine that :

- the vessel had been built at Bassein shipyards in the late 1670s : an initial order from February 1678 required the vessel to be constructed in the coming months.

- the shipbuilder Manuel da Costa, was present at Bassein from March 1680 to the late part of the same year.

- in early 1680, money was still short to complete works on the frigate and two *galeotas*. The work still to be done was expected to be completed in March at the cost of 10000 xerafins[38]

-the vessel, still incomplete, was brought to Goa in December 1680.

A sketch-map published by Pedro Barreto de Resende in his work *"Livro do Estado da India Oriental"*[39] clearly displays, under the name *"ribeira,"* several hulls lying on the shore along Bassein southern walls.

An essential work on Bassein architectural remains, published in 1952[40], permits to identify the spot of former Bassein's shipyards next to Madre de Deus Bastion.

The main series of information regarding the building of *S° A° de Tanna* in the late 1670s was extracted from the very fractionary collection of the *"Correspondencia de Baçaim"* preserved at the Goa Historical Archives. Luckily, the documents under number 1250 preserved in those archives covered the period researched (1678-1681).

This experience revealed that searching for details on shipbuilding in historical sources led to processing two major types of documents :

-official orders dealing with the building of a vessel or the way shipbuilding should be undertaken. By its very nature, this type of document, issued upstream, ignores the actual modalities and by which degree the building would be realized later on.

-corrective orders, issued to punish abuses, excesses or to avoid further delays in the undertaking of a specific task. Manoel da Costa, during his stay in Bassein for the building of *S° A° de Tanna,* complained about delays in his payment. Such documents provide details on Manoel da Silva's stay in Bassein or the reason of delays in the execution of orders issued in Goa, for instance lack of wood to feed Bassein's yards in one case.

**Traditional shipyards in the Bassein area in 1983**

The rich woodcarvings dug from the Mombasa underwater site led to examine the possibility of a local woodcarving tradition in Bassein. Abandoned by the Portuguese before the middle of the 18th century, the Bassein area as examined during a brief visit in 1983 provided no clue for such a local tradition.

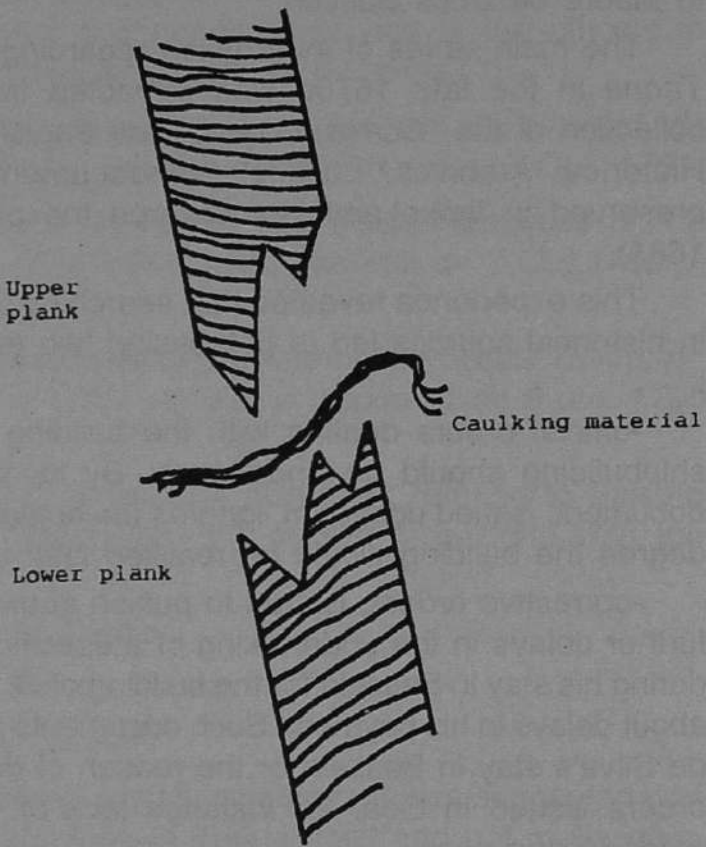
A small shipyard in the vicinity, located at Papri, between the modern town of Vasai and the old Bassein area, indicated no clear

Western influence in the way medium-size wooden embarcations, even if motorized, were being built.

Such boats, with sizes ranging from a few metres to more than 12 metres long, in a motorized version, used for fishing purposes, were observed lying at low tide on the shores of Filamandar, next to Bassein southern walls. Fishermen from Filamandar still used the former Portuguese settlement's main courtyard at Fort Bassein to stretch and dry their nets in the sun while village women carrying brass recipients were still using the fresh-water well inside the wall to carry water to their homes a few hundred yards away, not far from the shore.

Observation of the boats at Filamandar and of the Papri shipyards proved then the technique used was of the "shell-first" type, a technique wholly different from the Portuguese and most European woodshipbuilding where the hull is built as a skin of planks laid on a previous skeleton made of frames transversal to the keel.

In Papri shipyards, a typical "shell-first" technique revealed that boats were built right from the keel as a wooden "shell" where transversal structure was only added at a later stage, providing only a marginal amount of the total rigidity, in contrast with the "skeleton-first technique".




Typical "Z-shaped" seam used to join the edges of two corresponding planks on the hull of a boat built at Papri shipyard, Bassein.

Reproduced from Jean-Yves Blot & Maria Luisa Pinheiro Blot : "Report on a research in India and Portugal on the historical aspects of the XVIIth century portuguese frigate S° A° de Tanna sunk in Mombasa, Kenya, Nov. 1697". Report for the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A & M University, 1984, 108 p.

In conclusion, no evidence of Western influence could be detected in those Bassein shipyards of today. A further point refering to very specific "shell-first" techniques on boats at Papri shipyards was found in the way planks were joined edge to edge (longitudinally carved Z-shaped edge with a vegetal fibre as caulking material between the corresponding edges of the planks forming the hull).

**Ribeira de Goa**

The origin of the elaborated woodwork observed on the Mombasa' wreck was to be found in Goa instead of in Bassein as originally thought.

Documents consulted at Goa Historical Archives indicated that the vessel, once completed as a hull was able to float, and was towed all the way down the coast to Goa shipyards on the Mandovi river, in late 1680. Once there, Santo Antonio de Tanna was completed, a step which included its decoration.

Wooden elements of decoration of the stern area, made out of teak, were found in a rather good state of preservation underwater of the Mombasa shipwreck's site. Those elements excavated from the mud included two narrow planks, parts of a panel displaying the arms of the Portuguese monarchy. In some cases, the hole for iron nails which had originally fixed the wooden decoration panels to the stern part of the vessel were still visible.

Among such elements of decoration, a wooden cherubin numbered MH 450 in the catalogue of the I.N.A. Mombasa archaeological excavations (see

"Carved wodden-figure in bas-relief"
Catalog number MH 450. Institute of Nautical Archaeology.
Reproduced from "Mombasa 1977. British Joint Services, Sub Aqua Expedition".

drawing) was one of the elements provided by the archaeologist Robin Piercy to be investigated in India[41].

A visit to Old Goa churches provided a sharp element of comparison for this specific artefact on a decoration above an altar from São Francisco de Assis' church, not far from Mandovi river and a very short distance away from former Goa's shipyards or *"Ribeira"*.

Further research indicated that the church, built in the 17th century, had been heavily restored in the late 17th century, at a time when *Sº Aº de Tanna* was being completed at the *Ribeira de Goa.* Artists employed at São Francisco de Assis' restoration might have then been at work in the same period at the *Ribeira de Goa,* near to the church.

In 1984, a woodcarving craftmanship for teak furniture was still visible in the old part of the town of Panaji while other elements of the same nature were visible elsewhere (carved motifs in planks above door entrances of the *Bairro das Fontainhas* for instance).

Seen under that angle, *Ribeira de Goa* appears at the period investigated (late 17th century) as a final part of a shipbuilding chain originating next to the forests providing raw materials. Built as a hull in a shipyard not far from the forests, Bassein in this case, the vessel was towed to *Ribeira de Goa* to be completed. This situation was probably far from unique. C.R. Boxer[42] quotes a similar case half a century earlier, when the large galleon *Santissimo Sacramento,* built in Bassein under a contract with Bassein's Captain, Rui Dias Cunha, had its keel laid down in Bassein in 1638 or earlier[43] while the hull was ready to be towed to Goa years later, in April 1640. Arrived in Goa on the 17th of April 1640, the galleon, a huge vessel equipped for 60 to 80 guns, was only completed years later and sailed for its inaugural voyage to Portugal in 1647. To our knowledge, the exploration of the wreckage in South Africa by local divers, which led to the salvage of the magnificent bronze artillery produced at Manuel Tavares Bocarro's foundry in Macao, did not provide new evidence regarding the probably much scanty wooden remains of the hull. Contradictory reports suggest that *Sacramento* might have suffered heavy construction problems[44].

Due to cost and scarcity of shipbuilding materials, *Ribeira de Goa* was a spot for heavy recirculation of materials, with all the consequences that brings such a practice from an archaeological point of view : on the 10th of February 1680, in Goa, Manoel Gomes da Fonseca, *mestre da Ribeira* and other officials visit the *fragata Nossa Senhora dos Cardaes* which, despite repairs two years before, is found beyond the point of further use at sea. The experts who visited the *fragata* on that

occasion advised to have it dismantled *"pª della aproveitar o taboado q de novo se the botarão, e muita curvagem, madeira, ferrage, pregadura,e mastreação q della se pode aproveitar pª as obras das mais embarcações"*[45].

A few days later, another similar certificate is issued by the same experts advising to have another vessel dismantled, in this case the *fragata São Bernardo*[46].

It is quite possible therefore that part of the materials removed from the older *fragatas* dismantled in Goa in early 1680 might have been used to equip the unfinished *Sº Aº de Tanna* after its arrival from Bassein in the last week of the same year. Three quarters of a century earlier, royal orders revealed precisely such a situation when equipments, artillery and men from an old *nao* are all transferred to a new vessel *(Nª Sª da Conceição)* still under construction in Goa[47].

While the building of *Sº Aº de Tanna* had been ordered to former Captain of Bassein Antonio Sottomayor in early 1678, it is Manoel da Silva, then *"mestre dos carpinteiros da ribeira"* who was sent from Goa to Bassein in March 1680 to "assist" the building of the *fragata*[48] which will reach a total cost of 67000 xerafins at Bassein's shipyards[49].

**FRAGATA**

Quoted at first as a *fragata* in the documents emanating from Bassein in the late 1670s, the vessel investigated here was called in later documents *"fragata nova"* and was finally strictly identified by a document quoting it as *"fragata nova feita em Baçay por nome Sº Aº de Tanna"*[50]

The term *"fragata"* is by no means precise in the late 17th century, at a time when the very concept of heavy military vessel was still evolving very fast before finding its mould in the next century.

Documents revealed that the very ship which was heavily modified in the late part of its career, was prepared to receive 42 guns but was pierced for more (50) in 1696, before its final cruise to the East African shores[51].

Improvisation under political pressure seems to have been the norm in a period of long-term diplomatic uncertainty illustrated by a document from the period, found in Lisbon's Arquivo Historico Ultramarino dated 24th of January 1680 (Goa), which already refers to the damage caused to Portuguese shipping by the Omani at the time of *Sº Aº de Tanna'* construction :

*"... deste inimigo arabio, que nos tem atropellado a reputação, e de tal mode embaracado o comercio, que não ha ja quem se atreva navegar pª os Estreitos e com grande temor pª Mombaça,e Mosse (Mozambique)"*[52].

Among the fluctuations of Portuguese naval forces in this part of the Indian Ocean, vessels arriving intermittently from Lisbon played a vital role over the period, marked by war against the Marathas and a climax of this conflict around 1684, a constant conflict with the Omani, a diplomatic approach with Persia, good relationship with the Great Moghul, the Dutch as enemies, numerous tensions with Bombay's British "frères ennemis" and an alliance with the French of Surat.

**INDIAN FOREST DUSK**

As a whole, a wreck such a *"Santo Antonio de Tanna"* provides a new focus on a period when (1680) European sailors from other nations cruising the same waters will draw comments such as :

*"Ils naviguent par usage et non par science. Un escrivain des conquestes Portugaises dans les Indes a dit que si on avait mis prix a la perte que cette nation avoit faite par les naufrages elle excederoit tout le Portugal. On peut juger de combien cette perte s'est augmentée depuis que ce royaume est tombé dans l'anéantissement les manquements de gens rendent le service des navires portugais comme inutile et principalement ceux de guerre. Le peu d'ordre qu'on y garde et l'ignorance des capnes y contribue beaucoup. Les turcs leur ont donné le surnom de poules de la mer"*[53].

But in Lisbon in 1665, a French observer comments with admiration the latest product of Portuguese colonial naval shipbuilding, the huge warship *Père Eternel* (Pai Eterno), built in Brazil for 114 cannons, with a mast made out of a single piece of wood and a displacement estimated by the French Consul at 2000 *tonneaux*. The French diplomat goes on board and finds the experience useful enough to send the vessel's measurements to his superiors in Paris[54].

Less than a century later, French Governor Mahé de Labourdonnais at Ile de France (Mauritius island), wrote :

*"Il est certain que la nation Portugaise qui a toujours decline depuis 100 ans est a la veille de sa perte; jusqu'icy Goa a empêché les autres colonies d'expirer"*[55].

Whatever was the perception of the situation by foreigners, an old wave was irremediably dying as far as Portuguese shipbuilding in the East was concerned. As observed by C.R. Boxer, the early 18th century

will be marked by a repeated preference of Goa authorities for the use of Brazil-built vessels in the *Carreira da India* after some South American woods proved to me more resistant than Asian teak to the attack of sea-worms[56]. But Portuguese authorities in Goa were clearly aware of the phenomenon as early as 1696 as we can observe from a correspondence by Viceroy Conde de Villa Verde from October 1694 in which he specified that "seaworm was causing so much damage to the *naos* in this state that a new sheating of the hull was necessary every year"[57].

Vila Verde's letter' from 1694 was quoted two years later in Lisbon in the following terms :

*".. a experiencia tem achado que a madeira de Tapinha e do Brazil se conserva muitos anos illeza, sem lhe dar o bicho,é assim o vira na Capitania em que foi, que depois de sahir deste Reino, esteve seis mezes de invernada em Mossambique,e nove no Rio daquella Cidade, hindos e lhe a dar crena sic nem a houve mister, nem se lhe achou húa roedura do guzano; e pedia a Vmg$^{de}$ quizesse mandar hir por conta do cabedal, taboas do Brazil desta casta para forro de barcos grandes,e piquenos...."*[58].

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13. Bourde, an officer from the French Compagnie des Indes, published two definitions regarding the Indian technique of covering hulls :

    **"-Galgale.** C'est une pâte faite de chaux de coquillage nouvellement éteinte et bien séche, paîtrie avec de l'huile de bois ou de Moutarde ou de noix ou d'autres graines et un filet de goudron ... on l'applique aux Indes sur le franc-bord des vaisseaux. On double sur la couche de gal-gale, qui est bien mise egalement, de l'epaisseur d'um quart de pouce environ sur toute la carène du vaisseau par-dessus le sarangousti qui sert de brai aux coutures calfatées, de sorte que les vers ne pénétrent jamais audela du doublage parceque cet sic espece d' enduit se durcit extraordinairement et préserve le bois des insectes..."

    ***(sarangousti)*** *"Les vaiseaux de Surate et la plupart de ceux que l'on construit aux Indes orientales, sont cloués de manière que les pointes des clous passent au travers des membres, et se rivent en dedans, leurs bordages du franc-bord étant placés les uns sur les autres a mi-joints, se doublant en chanfrein, de sorte que les coutures sont trés petites, fort serrées et travaillées avec soin comme l étoupe y est fort rare, on calfaite (sic) avec du coton, sans être trop forcé, a cause de la feuillure de dessous que l' on menage pour ne pas la faire eclater: ensuite on enduit toutes les coutures les têtes de clous, chevilles, goujons et gournables de sarangousti qui se lie tellement avec le bois qu'il fait presque corps. Lorsqu'on double les vaisseaux, on enduit toute leur carène de gal-gale en plein, et on met un doublage trés fort par dessus le tout, aussi les vaisseaux naviguent presque toujours sans faire d'eau et durent des temps infinis...". M. Bourde, officier des V^aux de la C^e des Indes : "Manuel des marins ou dictionnaire des termes de marine",. A l'Orient, 1773.*

14. *Archives Nationales, Paris, Serie Marine B^7 43, f28 (resume de la lettre du Sieur de Montagnac, Lisbonne) : "..Il a apris avec certitude que le mastic dont les Portugais se servent au Bresil, et meme au Portugal pour enduire les navires entre le doublage et le bordage s'appelle en leur langue galagala, ils le composent avec de la chaux pilee, et de l'huile de poission, il faut qu'elle soit bien pure et nette, c'est à dire sans eau et on la verse dans la dite chaux pilée à mesure qu'ils la remuent et pilent avec de gros pilons de bois jusques à ce qu'elle soit comme une paste, ou mortier propre à pouvoir s'étendre,ce que l'on fait faire par des maçons sur le bordage, et coutures, aprés qu'il a este calfatté, et le mortier s'étend de l' epoisseur du petit doigt, et de la longueur et largeur de la planche du doublage que l'on doit apliquer dessus, et que l'on tient tout preste pour estre*

*cloué sur le d.mastic pendant qu'il est frais, lorsqu'on en fait une plus grande quantité que celle dont on a besoin p'employer pendant la journée, qu'il en reste pour le lendemain, on ne le fait reservir qu'après l'avoir réchauffé en y remettant de l'huile,et le remuant avec les pilons, sans quoy il ne pourroit estre employé à cause qu'il se sèche facilem<sup></sup>. L'on n'employe point ce mastic dans les oeuvres mortes, mais seulement dans tous les endroits ou le vaisseau peut prendre eau, le bois dont les Portugais se servent pour doubler leurs vaisseaux s'apelle Tapiguoan, Il est le meilleur, et le plus propre de tous les autres bois, n' estant point sujet à la piqûre des vers, il vient du Bresil par la flotte du Rio de Janeiro a Lisbone (sic), ou l'on en trouve presque toujours a achetter, les planches sont d' environ 15 pieds de long, d'un pied de large, et un pouce 1/2 d' epoisr. Elles se vendent ordinairement 18 a 20m. Reys la douzaine et quelques fois plus, suivant la petite, ou la grande quantité que les flottes en aportent (handwritten note in margin : Un Rey n'est pas si fort qu'un denier de france; il faut 14 Reys pour faire un sol). Il est certain qu'un vaisseau double de ce bois avec le d. mastic dure au moins 10 années sans le dedoubler pourvû que l'on ait soin de le faire brûler,et calfater tous les deux ans seulement,et y donner le suif, si l'on veut sic pour faire marcher le vaisseau,ce n'est point le mastic qui empecha la piqûre des vers, mais bien la qualité du d.bois, la propriété du mastic est celle de conserver le bordage et les coutures, ce qui fait que le vaisseau ne sauroit faire de l'eau, il empêche aussy les vers de penetrer jusqu'au bordage quand mesme ils auroient par la longueur du tems piqué le doublage, les vers s'arrestent au mastic des qu'ils l'ont senty, et ce mastic conserve si parfaitement le cordage, et l'etoupe que le fer est plustot mangé par la roüille que le bois n'en gate. Le Sr de Montagnac a vu aussy preparer, et apliquer ce mastic sur une flutte du Roy de Portugal..."*

15. Blot, Jean-Yves, Blot, Maria Luisa Pinheiro : "Le naufrage du San Pedro de Alcantara", in *La Recherche*, Paris, no. 230, vol. 22, Mars 1991

16. For instance Fernando Oliveira : *"Livro da Fabrica das Naus"*. (Codice 3702. Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa) published by Academia de Marinha, Lisbon, 1991.

17. Barcelos, Cristiano : "Construção de Naus em Lisboa e Goa para a Carreira da India no começo do seculo XVII". Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. Publicações XIV. 1899-1901. Separata do *boletim no.1*, serie 17a, pp. 11-70, including the introduction by J.B. de Oliveira, pp. 5-9.

    Vasconcelos, Frazão de, : "A Fabrica das naus da Carreira da India no seculo XVII". Lisboa,1928. Separata dos *Anais do Clube Militar Naval.*

    Barros, Eugenio Estanislau de : *Traçado e construção das naus portuguesas dos seculos XVI e XVII.* Lisboa, 1933, 118 p. XVII tables.

18. Padre Manuel Godinho, Lisbon, 1974, pp. 29-30

19. Iria, Alberto : "Da navegação Portuguesa no Indico no seculo XVII". *Documentos do Arquivo Historico Ultramarino*, Lisboa, 1963, p. 201.

20. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, India, *caixa 357. Document* nº106, quoted in Aº. Iria

21. Bombay, Calcutta, London, New York. 1912.

22. *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval.* Translated from the French. Porto, 1944, volume II, p. 193.

23. David, M.D. : *History of Bombay*. 1661-1708. University of Bombay. 1973, p. 376.

24. op.cit., p. 379

25. David, op. cit., p. 379

26. Conde de Vila Verde to the Capitão de Baçaim, Goa. 24th May 1694. *"Cartas e Ordens"* (Correspondence from Bassein) (1693-1698). HAG, no. 1252, fl. 33v°. The reference to "athé 1000 granades" is found in another letter by the same author, same date, same reference.

27. Code de Vila Verde to the Capitão de Baçaim, 21st May 1694, HAG, no. 1252, f33.

28. Assento do Concelho do Estado, Goa. 18th May 1678. HAG, no. 8001. *Assentos do Conselho do Estado,* 1676-1696, f38.

29. Document included in *"Contas da Feitoria de Baçaim,* I volume, 1701-other dates included many of them 1730's -, HAG no. 2528,f1.1v

30. Idem, fl. 63v

31. Idem, fl. 65v

32. *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda* (1679-1686). 1 volume. HAG, no. 1172, fl.80v : "Assento sobre a madeira de teca q se manda vir de Baçay... visto na Ribeira desta cidade haver falta de madeira de teca..."

33. "Tana, rio de -O rio Thana, na presidencia indiana de Bombaim ou Bombay, que desagua junto à ilha deste nome, em 18° 52' lat. N. e 72° 50' long.E (*Joao de Barros-Da Asia-*).

    .. Taná-cidade de Thana, em 19° 12' lat. N. e 73° 02' long. E. no. extemo leste da ilha de Salsete na presidencia de Bombaim *ou Bombay..". Visconde de Lagoa. "Glossario toponimico da antiga historiografia Portuguesa ultramarina". Lisboa 1913. I parte (Asia e Oceania. Vol. o-z), p.194.*

    A very good 17th century map hand-drawn gives the general topography of the Salsete island area : "Mapa da Ilha de Bombaim em que esta representada a terra e a barra de Bombaim, o Rio de Taná, a Ilha de Barragão, a Passagem do Mar, Bandora...". 735x510 mm. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon. no. 694 India ex 330 ("Sala do Brasil Arm. I gav. 8).

    More details on the area are found in a late 16th century manuscript from the Madrid National Library published by Francisco Paulo Mendes da Luz in 1960 : *"Livro das cidades, e fortalezas que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India, e das capitanias, e mais cargos, que nelas ha, e da importancia delles",* in Studia, no. 6, Lisbon, July 1960, pp. 351ff.

34. Carreri, Gemelli : *Giro del Mondo.* Napoli, 1721, vol. III, capitolo IV : "Brieve Navigazione sino a Bassin," pp. 29-37.

35. The *Conselho do Estado* reads a letter from the King to the Viceroy (27th Feb. 1686) answering a letter from the Viceroy to the King (20 Jan. 1685) in which were mentioned those works. Quoted in P.S.S. Pissurlencar ed. *Assentos do Conselho do Estado,* Vol. IV, Bastora, 1956, p. 439.

36. Livro das *Monções do Reino* (MR) no. 65, HAG, f291-295

37. MR, No. 65, HAG, fl. 652.

38. Letter of Antonio Paez de Sande to Manoel Jorge de Oliveira feitor de Baçay. (January?) 1680. HAG no.1250. *Correspondencia de Baçaim* (1678-1681), fl. 69.

39. Reproduced in Carlos de Azevedo : *Arte Crista na India Portuguesa,* Lisboa 1959, under the title : *"Demonstração da Fortaleza de Baçaim"*

40. Fernandes, Bras A. : *Armas e inscrições do Forte de Baçaim*. Academia Portuguesa de Historia. MCMLVII

41. Blot, Jean-Yves : "Research in India Provides Clues", *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Newsletter, vol. 18, no. 2, Summer* 1991

42. Boxer, C.R.: *"A India Portuguesa em meados do séc. XVIII"*. 1982 (original title : "Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century", The Heras Society. 1980), pp. 48-49

43. "The Sacramento was built at Bassein on the coast twenty miles north of Bombay by Rui Dias da Cunha, Captain of Bassein, who won the commission for the ship from the Governor, Telles de Menezes. Its keel was laid in 1636. It was built to upper deck level and then towed to the river Panelim, south of the main port of Goa for fitting in April 1640....". G. & D. Allen : *"The guns of Sacramento"*, London, 1978, p. 24.

44. A report of a conference held by Prof. Eric Axelson on the subject in 1983 in Lisbon stated : *"Segundo um relatorio do vice-rei, era "o melhor navio que ja se vira na India". Embora fosse um galeão importante e de grande calado, relatrios holandeses da época consideravam-no um "navio-problema", dificil de manobrar e talvez demasiado grande para se fazer ao oceano. Precisou de tantas alteraçoes e calafetagem, que a sua viagem inaugural foi adiada ate 1647"*. (Article regarding the "Segundo Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa" held in Lisbon. Correio da Manha, Suplemento de Domingo. no.1403. Ano 4,13 fevereiro 1983.

    In their book relating their underwater finds, South African divers G. & D. Allen refer to the belief among Dutch naval forces in the vicinity that the galleon, although claimed to be a 60-gun vessel was in reality prepared for 80 pieces of artillery : "The information in the register was based on the reports of Dutch spies, probably misled by carefully planted Portuguese misinformation. The Dutch were however correct in reporting that the ship was "very leaky", for although it was beautifully finished and a fine sight to the layman, the Sacramento was by no means a well-found ship. In fact, the Dutch intercepted a letter sent by the Acting Governor of Malacca in 1640 in which he said that the galleon of da Cunha had arrived and was laying at anchor at Panelim. The ship had a heavy list as a result of a structural fault, about which he commented - "It is a beautiful piece of work but needs fixing and should be ready by next summer".... It took five years' work before the Sacramento was ready to put to sea... " (G. & D. Allen, op.cit., 1978, p.24).

45. Certificate of the visit issued in Goa, 10th February, 1680. *Assentos do Conselho do Estado.* HAG, No. 1172 volume 1(1679-86), fl. 33v.

46. Idem, fl. 35.Goa, 12th February, 1680.

47. "...e como esta nau(Guia) fosse muito velha, mandou sua Majestade que a fabrica dela, capitão, oficiais, e artilharia, se passasse à nova, que estava no estaleiro em Goa..." ("perda da nau Conceição em peleja com dezassete naus de Turcos. 1621", published by A Sergio in : *"Naufrágios e Combates no mar"*. Lisboa 1958, vol. I, p. 181. Same source specifies that N^a^ S^a^ da Conceição left from Goa to Portugal in March 1621.

48. HAG, no. 1172. Goa, 10th April, 1680

49. "Entrega que o Ill^mo^ S^nor^ Antonio Paes de Sande do Cons^o^ de S.A. Gov^or^ e Cap^m^ G. da India faz da Governança della ao Ex^mo^ S^nor^ Francisco de Tavora do Conselho

do Estado de S.A. ..." (1681). Goa, HAG, no. 8001. *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* (1676-1696), fl. 59v.

50. Ibid, fl. 59, Goa 12th Sept. 1681.

51. These elements are discussed at length in a document by the authors, entitled : 'Report on a research in India and Portugal on the historical aspects of the XVIIth century Portuguese frigate *S°A° de Tanna sunk in Mombasa, Kenya, Nov.* 1697". Report for the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A&M University, 1984, p. 108. Unpublished.

52. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, *"India"*, Caixa 357.

53. Archives Nationales, Paris, *Série Marine B7 480. Mémoire sur l'état de la marine de Portugal,* 1680.

54. Archives Nationales, Paris. *Séria Affaires trangères* B' 643. French Consulate in Lisbon, 1649-1666, fl. 263 & 266. The huge vessel described had arrived in Lisbon in October 1665.

55. Mahé de La Bordonnais, Port-Louis, ler décembre 1737. Archives Nationales, Paris, Série Colonies C⁴ 2, fl. 200.

56. Boxer, C.R. : *"The Portuguese Seaborne Empire,* 1415-1825." Harmondworsth, Pelican Books, 1973, chapter 9 ("The India fleets and the Brazil fleets").

57. *"... o guzano naquelle estado e tão nosçivo para as naos, que cessitá de forro novo cada anno....". Conselho Ultramarino. India, Caixa 364 (formerly Caixa 38). Documento no. 72.* Lisboa, 3 de Out° de 1696. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon.

58. Idem.

# Some observations on Ribeiro's Konkani Dictionary Manuscript at the Goa Archives and the Related Manuscripts

*Rocky V. Miranda*

Altogether, nine old Konkani dictionary manuscripts are known to exist in various libraries and archives. It is possible that more such manuscripts will be discovered in the future. Of the nine that are known to exist, four have both Konkani-Portuguese and Portuguese-Konkani parts, one is only Konkani-Portuguese, and four are only Portuguese-Konkani. The total number of manuscripts comes to 13, if the Portuguese-Konkani and Konkani-Portuguese parts are counted separately. However, in the following list, they are not counted separately:

1. Ribeiro, Diogo. 1626. *Vocabulario da lingoa canarim feito pellos Padres da Comp$^a$. de Jesus que residiam na Christandade de Salcete, e nouamente acrescentado com varios modos de fallar pelo* pe. *Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Comp$^a$.* Rachol, Goa. MS. Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Goa. (Part I Portuguese-Konkani. Part II. Konkani-Portuguese.) This manuscript was discovered in 1982 at the Government Higher Secondary School in Panaji in the library of the old Liceu Nacional.
2. Ribeiro, Diogo. 1626. *Vocabulario da lingoa canarim feito pellos Padres da Comp$^a$. de IH'S q' reside' na Xp$^e$. de Salcete, & nouame'te acressentado co' varios modos de fallar pello* pe. *Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Comp$^a$.* Rachol, Goa. MS. Central Library, Panaji, Goa. (Part I. Portuguese-Konkani. Part II. Konkani Portuguese. The title on Part I is simply *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canar y vertida do Portugues - pelo Padre Diogo Ribeiro).*
3. Ribeiro, Diogo. No date. *Vocabulario da Lingoa da terra composto pello* P$^e$. *Dioguo Ribeiro da Comp$^a$. de Jesu do uzo do* pe. *Amaro de Azevedo Tresladado a sua custa.* (Part I. Portuguese-Konkani. Part II. Konkani-Portuguese. The title on the second part is V*ocabulario da Lingoa da Terra Traduzido de Portuguez em Cannaris pello P$^e$. Dioguo Ribeiro da Comp$^a$. de Jesu, do uzo do* pe. *Amaro de Azevedo da mesma Comp$^a$. e tresladado a sua custa).* MS. Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Cota 45/VIII/36.
4. Anon. No date. *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarina com Versam Portugueza. MS. Archivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon.* Facsimile

edition published by Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Lisbon,in 1973. (Konkani-Portuguese only).

5. Anon. No date. *Vocabulario Canarim com Alfabeto Portuguez.* MS.Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (Opera Nostrorum), Rome.(Portuguese-Konkani only).
6. Anon. No date. *Vocabulario da lingua canarim feito pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus que residiam na provincia de Salcete.* MS. Central Library, Panaji, Goa, (Part I. Portuguese - Konkani. Part II. Konkani-Portuguese).
7. Anon. No date. Title page as well as later pages to the middle of E are missing. MS. Directorate of Archives, Archaeology, and Museum, Goa. (Portuguese-Konkani only.)
8. Anon. No date. *Vocabulario da lingoa canari começa pelo alphabeto dos nomes, da nossa lingoa pera que mais facilmente se achem os nomes que buscaramos.* MS. Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. Cod. 3044. (Portuguese-Konkani only).
9. Anon. No date.*Vocabulario da lingoa canarim. Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. Cod.* 3195. (Portuguese-Konkani only).

In this paper, I am chiefly concerned with the dictionary manuscripts associated with Diogo Ribeiro, whose name appears in 1, 2 and 3 above. The Konkani-Portuguese parts of these manuscripts are the focus of this study. Therefore, the examples are all taken from the Konkani-Portuguese parts of the manuscripts. Having compared 1 and 2, L. A. Rodrigues, former professor of Portuguese from Dhempe College, came to the conclusion that they are copies of the same work. A closer examination of 1 and 2 reveals that 1 is actually a copy of 2. The clearest evidence for this comes from certain entries in 2 that seem to have been partially cut off in the process of rebinding. For example, in the Konkani-Portuguese part of 2, each of the following entries occurs at the end of a page and is partially cut off:

^Addaly ghâlitâ' Dar daueso com algue'. ^Addaly paddalaeâca.....

Anarde'. eâ. Mantimto.. (propriamente de arros). Kâi anarde' ghenâ'. Nao'.....

^Attâpu. â. Lustre, Bizarriya, ou.....

(Missing information is indicated by .....)

Now if one examines the same entries in 1, one finds each of them in the middle of a page, but just as incomplete as in 2. After the second and the third incomplete entries, some space is left in 1 in order to indicate that they are incomplete. This state of affairs can only

be due to the fact that 1, a copy of 2, was made only after these entries were already partially cut off from 2 in the process of rebinding. Fortunately, it is possible to retrieve most of the missing information from 3 and 4 where these entries are complete. (The relationship of 3-4 with 1-2 is examined later in this paper). For example, 3 has the following :

^Addaly ghâlitâ. Dar dauesso cõ algue'. ^Addaly paddalaleâca ghâlunu mârilo, quite' caru'che' ? Deo no q' cahio de traues, q' se ha de fazer?

Anarde'. eâ. Mantimento, propriam$^{te}$., de arros. Câi' anarde' ghenâ'. Nao' leua pera baixo nenhu' mantime'to i., o doente.

^Attâpu. â Pompa, aparata. To âttâpâna bho'uatâ. Elle anda co' sua pompa.

The Portuguese gloss appears to have been rephrased in 3 in the third entry.

On the whole, 1 is a faithful copy of 2. Even certain errors found in 2 are repeated in 1. For example, in the following entry, the word *comendo* is inadvertently left out in 2 before *cinza*:

Russy, iâ Certa gente, arrufada, descontente do mundo, que, os poetas finge', q'depois de estare' mt$^{os}$ annos em uida conte'platiua, ......... cinza e bebendo os uentos, alcançarao' a ser Deozes.

The error is repeated in 1, but in 3 and 4, the word *comendo* appears before *cinza.*

Any variation between 1 and 2 is limited to minor details. For example, in the title and the first 75 entries of the Konkani-Portuguese part of the two manuscripts, the following differences are found:

Title : Jesus (1), IH'S (2), residiao' (1), reside' (2); (?) Christandade (1), XP$^{e}$. (2); nouamente (1), nouame'te (2); acrescentado (1), acressentado (2); com (1), co' (2); pelo (1), pello (2)

^Abâ: doe ou se espanta (1), doe o se espanta (2); deriua (1), derriua (2)

Abakhetâ' : couzas (1), cousas (2)

Abillâkhu: mânussu (1), mânnussu (2); tbm (1), ta'be' (2); pelo (1), pello (2); peccado (1), pecc$^{o}$. (2);hum (1), hu' (2);faz (1), fas (2);bx$^{o}$. (1), baixo (2)

Abillâkhy: Abillâkhy (1), Abillâky (2)

Abarpy : nem (1), ne' (2)

Abimâny : Homem (1), Home' (2)

Absekhu : Ceremonia (1), Seremonia (2); fazem (1), faze' (2); q^do^. (1), quando (2)

^Abolyuarnu : ^Abolyuarnu (1), ^Aboliuarnu (2); amarella (1), amarela (2)

^Abuço : si (1), sy (2); sem (1), se' (2)

Abudhypanna : Nescidade (1), Necidade (2)

Abudhinni : Nescia (1), Necia (2)

Abuzu : Desarrazoado (1), Desarrasoado (2); tbm (1), tambe' (2); p^a^. (1), pera (2); homem (1), home' (2)

Abhangu: escriptura (1), escretura (2)

Abhâlla: Ueyo (1), Ueo (2); mim (1), my'(2)

Abha'guy': abha'guy' (1), abhanguy' (2); si (1), sy (2)

Abharua'sso : tbm (1), tambe' (2)

Abhranna: cousa (1), couza (2)

Abhârapanna : Leuid^e^. (1), Leuidade (2)

Abhâuitu : Cousa (1), Couza (2); paddale' (1), paddalem (2); ueyo (1), ueo (2); mim (1), my' (2); q' (1), que (2); imaginaua (1), immaginaua (2); que (1), q' (2)

Abhiurudhi : Crescimento (1), Crecimt^o^. (2)

Achâkitachi : Derepente (1), Derrepe'te (2)

Achâli : Cousa (1), Couza (2); roim (1), ruy'; conuersaçao', conuerçassao'

Achalatica : tempo (1), t'po. (2) sem (1), se' (2); nenhu' (1) nnhu' (2); meneyo (1), meneo (2)

Achalachâli : procedim^to^. (1), procedime'to (2)

^Achâry : Ministro (1), Minystro (2)

^Achâru : Deos (1), D's (2), tbm (1), tambe' (2)

Achitâ : para (1), pera (2)

Achirka : com (1), co'; sentido (1), tento (2); tbm (1), tbe' (2)

Adabutu: Façanhoso (1), Façanhozo

^Adadinu ârabe:p' (1), por (2)

Adagoti : Adagotintu (1), Adogatintu (2); immundicia (1) immu'dicia

This cannot be claimed to be a complete list of variants in the first 75 entries since the initial pages of 1 are badly damaged and many words there are missing or illegible. Only two of the cases listed above involve lexical differences: In the title, 1 has *residiao'* for *reside'* of 2.

Under *Achirka,* 1 has *sentido* for *tento* in 2, which, though semantically equivalent to *tento,* is a different lexical item. A couple of differences in 2 seem to be attempts to make minor corrections: thus, after *Abillâkhu,* and *Abillâkhitâ'* the occurrence of a related form *Abillâky* (rather than *Abillakhy*) appears to be a slip in 2. So, this has been changed to *Abillâkhy* in 1. Probably, all these words were pronounced with an unaspirated velar stop and the ***kh*** in their spelling was merely etymological. Under *Adagoti* in 2, there is a subentry which spells this word as *Adogati.* In 2, this has been changed to *Adagoti.* In fact, this word is borrowed from Sanskrit where it is *adhogati.* Therefore, its normal form in Konkani ought to be *adogati.* However, the form *adagoti* might have also been in existence due to a metathesis of **a** and **o** in *adogati.* In the Portuguese glosses, the **o** in **q'** *see doe, o se espanta* is probably an error in 2 for *ou* (although the variant **o** for **ou** does occur in Spanish). So, in 1, it has been corrected to *ou.* Also, 1 shows preference for etymological spellings in certain cases: see escriptura and several items with sc (Scuh as acrescentado, nescidade, nescia and crescimento). We find phonetic spellings for these in 2: *escretura, acressentado, necidade, necia, and crecimto.*

All other variations involve full forms in one manuscript corresponding tc abbreviated forms in the other manuscript or they are cases of spelling variation. In general, abbreviations appear to be equally common in the two manuscripts. Thus, in the above examples, *tambem, baixo, quando, pera, levidade, que, procedimento* and *por* of 2 appear as *tbm,* *bx*$^{o}$., *q*$^{do}$., *p*$^{a}$., *levid*$^{e}$., *q',* *procedim*$^{to}$ *and* p' in 1 whereas *peccado, crecimento, tempo, nenhum, Deos, and tambem* of 1 appear as *pecc*$^{o}$., *crecimt*$^{o}$., *t'po, nnhu', D's,*and *tbe'* in 2. The word tambem appears four times in these examples but always in the abbreviated form *tbm* in 1 whereas it is abbreviated only once in 2. The Greek abbreviations in the title, *IH'S* and *XP*$^{e}$. for *Jesus and Christandade* respectively, found in 2 are avoided in 1.

17th century Portuguese spelling shows a great deal of free variation between certain letters. Thus, to indicate vowel nasalization word finally, either **m** or ' may be written. The letters **m** and **n** may be substituted by ' when the nasal consonant represented by **m** or **n** has the same place of articulation as the following consonant. The sound[s] may be represented by **s** or **ç** word initially and by **ç** or **ss** intervocalically. The sound [z] may be represented by **s** or **z** intervocalically. Word final [s] may be represented by **s** or **z.** In certain words, letters representing nasals (**m, n**) and liquids (**r,l**) may occur single or double. Between **e**

and **o**, the letter representing the glide (**y**) may be optionally omitted. In 1, we see a preference for **m** rather than ' to indicate vowel nasalization in the word final position. (See *com, fazem, homem, hum, mim, nem, roim,*and *sem* in 1 corresponding respectively to *co', faze', home', hu', my', ne', ruy',* and *se'* in 2). To represent a homorganic nasal consonant before a stop, **m** or **n** is preferred in 1. (See *nouamente, derepente, immundicia,* and *tempo* in 1 corresponding respectively to *nouame'te, derrepe'te, immu'dicia,* and *t'po* in 2). However, absolute consistency is not be expected. Thus, for Konkani *paddalem* and *abhanguy'* in 2, we find *paddale'* and *abha'guy* in 1. The word *homem* as well as many other words with vowel nasalization in the final position do appear with ' as well in 1. For seremonia and converçassao' in 2, we find ceremonia and *conversaçao ' in 1. For façanhozo and for most instances of couza in 2, 1 has façanhoso* and *cousa.* However, there is one instance in the examples above where 1 has *couzas* for *cousas* in 2. Also, 1 has *desarrazoado* for *desarrasoado* in 2. For the words with double letters *pello, immaginaua, derriua,* and *derrepe'te* in 2, variants with single letters are substituted in 1. For *veo* and *meneo* in 2, we have *ueyo* and *meneyo* in 1. 2 uses **y** for the sound [i] in a number of cases but 1 uses **i** in these cases. See *sy, my', ruy',* and *minystro* in 2 corresponding to which 1 has *si, mim, roim,* and *ministro.* There is only one instance where spelling variation is accompanied by phonetic variation: *para* in 1 corresponding to *pera* in 2. In general, where there is spelling variation between 1 and 2, the spellings in 1 are relatively later and the spellings in 2 relatively more archaic.

3 bears the name of Diogo Ribeiro, but there is no date given. In 4, the author's name is not given, but even a cursory examination makes it clear that it is just another version of the Konkani-Portuguese part of Ribeiro's *Vocabulario* and that it is considerably closer to 3 than to 2. 3 and 4 share the order of entries as well as a number of corrections and revisions. They appear to be derived from the same version of Ribeiro's *Vocabulario,* which must be a later revised version than the one on which manuscript 2 is based. Most items not in alphabetical order in 2 have been placed in the right alphabetical order in these manuscripts. However, since 3 and 4 each have certain lexical entries that are not found in the other, one of them cannot be claimed to be a later version of the other.

Although 2 shows clear signs of being based on an earlier version as I pointed out above, it cannot be claimed that it is itself the earlier

version. The reason for this is a large number of lexical entries found in 2 which are inexplicably missing in 3 and 4. There is no good reason why these itself should have been omitted deliberately or inadvertently in the version from which 3 and 4 are derived. The most plausible explanation for this state of affairs is that 2 is an enlarged version of the earlier version of Ribeiro's *Vocabulario.*

In 4, there is a large Aditamento section containing a couple of thousand entries. Since the Aditamento entries begin in the middle of C, the scribe has left a few blank pages at the beginning of the Aditamento section assuming that the initial part of the Aditamento is missing. What he did not realize is that, earlier, somebody else had already incorporated the initial part of the Aditamento into the main body of the Vocabulario. As a result, 4 has about 20% more entries than 3 in sections A, B, and the first half of C whereas the number of additional entries elsewhere is negligible. Some of the Aditamento entries match so closely with the extra entries found in 2 that we must conclude that at least one of the sources of additional entries used by the authors of 2 and 4 must have been the same.

The author's name is not given in 5 either but it is obviously an enlarged version of the Portuguese-Konkani part of Diogo Ribeiro's *Vocabulario.* I have not closely examined 6,7,8, and 9 and therefore, I am not in a position to comment on their historical relationship with Diogo Ribeiro's work. It was once believed that 6 was the original *Vocabulario* of the Jesuits referred to in the title of 1 and 2. Although the initial pages of 6 are missing, its title is given on a separate sheet as *Vocabulario da lingua canarim feito pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus que residiam na provincia de Salcete.* It is, however, written in a different hand and in modern spelling. This suggests that some later scholar or librarian, who found 6 in the same location as 2 and believed this to be the original *Vocabulario* of the Jesuits referred to in 2, must have added this sheet at a much later date. The claim that 6 is the original *Vocabulario* of the Jesuits on which 2 is based has been rejected by Professor L. A. Rodrigues, who argues that the differences between the contents and the format of 2 and 6 are such that 6 cannot be historically related to 2. He is of the opinion that 7 is the original *Vocabulario* of the Jesuit priests referred to in the title of 1 and 2. The last two works (8 and 9) are both very brief. It is not known whether either of them is an earlier version of some other *Vocabulario.*

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# Some Suggestions for Historical Inquiry Based on Collections in the Historical Archives of Goa.

*Timothy J. Coates*

## INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL COMMENTARY

The celebrations in 1995 to honour the fourth centenary of the Historical Archives of Goa (HAG) provide a welcome opportunity to reflect on possible avenues of investigation open to researchers able to consult that institution's rich collections.

Professor M.N. Pearson commented in his collection of essays titled *Coastal Western India*[1] that while in the early 1970s the HAG was "one of the most neglected archives on the sub-continent," he was able to report an increased use and awareness of the collections in the HAG a decade later. If my own experience in consulting the HAG from 1990 to 1991 is any indication, this statement would appear to be true. However, it is also my contention that documentation in the HAG has yet to be fully appreciated by scholars in Goa, elsewhere in India, Portugal, or beyond. Much more remains than what has been done. To put it another way, a number of lines of historical inquiry, complete with codices of supporting HAG documentation, await researchers interested in the history of medieval and modern South Asia and the greater Indian Ocean region as a whole.

Before launching into a large-scale project such as those suggested in this essay or elsewhere in this volume, the researcher would be well-advised to carefully read a number of the essays in John Correia-Afonso, ed. *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources & Problems.*[2] In particular, I would note the two historiographical essays by C.R. Boxer published in this collection.[3] In addition, A.J.R. Russell-Wood has outlined a number of possible research areas in the field of early modern Portuguese studies in his recent essay in *Itinerario.*[4] These three essays provide an invaluable orientation to the field by two of its most senior and distinguished scholars.

It is a reasonably safe generalization to state that, in the past, historians of the Portuguese in Asia have concentrated on a number of relatively narrow themes. In terms of chronology, the Portuguese themselves have tended towards studies of the 16th century *Estado da India.* Dominating these writings, quite naturally, are the perceived

highlights of Portuguese achievements: maritime navigation (and related sciences such as ship-building, cartography, and the *Carreira da India),* military conquest, Christian missionary activities, long-distance trade, and other economic activities. This situation is not surprising since it is generally agreed that the *Estado da India* reached its economic zenith during this period. Perhaps the best example of this focus would be the fundamental work by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* (1963-71). At the risk of making another sweeping generalization, non-Portuguese historians have tended towards the 17th century, with economic themes again receiving the lion's share in examples such as James Boyajian's very recent *Portuguese Trade in Asia Under the Habsburgs* (1993), George B. Souza's *The Survival of Empire* (1986), and A.R. Disney's *Twilight of the Pepper Empire* (1978).

The reverse of this equation is that the Portuguese have (again quite naturally) downplayed or ignored the less edifying aspects of their colonial rule or actions in which they were not the central players. This has left a number of obvious gaps in the literature which could be addressed using the rich collections in the HAG. In the case of the 16th century, I refer to what is known as "contact period" studies and is exemplified by the recent collection of essays on the global process of encounter, edited by Professor Stuart Schwartz.[5] We know very little of the social and cultural dynamics of the first generation of interaction of the Portuguese in Asian waters (ca. 1498-1520). Documents in the HAG, followed by those in Lisbon in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, would be logical and productive sources for such a study.

Not just at the "contact period," but interactive social history of Portuguese relations with various Asian peoples in or near the *Estado da India,* during the 16th and 17th centuries has yet to be developed to the extent which economic, religious, and maritime history have been examined. Throughout this very brief essay, I have tried to limit my comments to the early modern (medieval) period since I am more familiar with the 16th and 17th centuries. Nevertheless, I cannot help but note that, while some new work has appeared in studies of the 18th and 19th centuries, these tend to be blank spots in the literature. The field is virtually wide open for a study of any theme relating to Portuguese Asia after approximately 1750.

All of this is actually an indirect way to say that a number of approaches and themes are amply represented in the literature and a good many more are either scanty or altogether absent. The purpose

of this very brief essay is then to highlight a number of possibly new avenues, chronological areas, or themes which await study and which would be based on materials in the HAG. At the same time I have suggested projects which can be thoroughly accomplished by one individual working over a limited period.

## SETS OF PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS, TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS

One of the great services for researchers in this field has been the publication of numerous multi-volume collections of documents.[6] Well known series such as Biker *(Collecção de tratados...* 1882) and Wicki *(Documenta Indica,* 1948-72) are invaluable and readily available resources thanks to the efforts of these editors. The HAG itself has published two sets of its own documentation in the series *Archivo Portuguêz Oriental* (Cunha Rivara, ed. 1857-1876) and *Arquivo Português Oriental* (Bragança Pereira, ed. 1936-1940). Nor would I want to fail to mention two collections of the HAG's documents published in the five volumes of the *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* (1953-57) or one volume of the *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda* (1979).

These published collections have made this documentation available to scholars around the world and alerted them to the wealth of documentation in the HAG. Might I suggest that perhaps this occasion, marking the 400th anniversary of the archives, would be an appropriate time to reprint any of these collections which might be unavailable and to consider the possibility of a new series? This might be a relatively small collection which could be published in its entirety, such as the ten codices of the legal collection of the *Livros da Relação* (HAG volumes 8784-8793). On the other hand, this new series might consist of selections from the *Misericórdia* records and the two volumes known as the *Provições a favor da Christanidade* (Provisions in Favour of Christianity, volumes 7693 and 9529). These provisions were edited by Father Joseph Wicki, S.J. and published in Lisbon by the Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos in 1969, under the title *O Livro do Pai dos Cristãos.* Unfortunately, this work is now out of print. These two volumes of *Provições* (alone) would make a fascinating and manageable project to publish in a bilingual or trilingual text in Portuguese, English and Konkani, depending on the linguistic skills of the translator.

A second translation project is one that I discovered in Lisbon and later came across the suggestion by Professor C.R. Boxer: a English

language translation of Antonio Bocarro's *Livro do Estado de India Oriental.*[7]

The first *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, now quite rare, was recently reprinted (1992) by Asian Educational Services (AES) in New Delhi. AES has done a great service by reprinting these (and many other) titles. To cite but one recent example, AES reprinted J. Gerson da Cunha's 1876 *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* in 1993. This important juncture in the history of the HAG might also be an appropriate occasion to review the publications reprinted by AES and suggest additional works which merit reprinting. In my opinion, two (now exceedingly rare) publications should top such a list: J.I. Abrantes Garcia, ed. *Arquivo da Relação de Goa*, published in two volumes in Panaji in 1872-74; and Jose Frederico Ferreira Martins, *História da Misericordia de Goa*, published in three volumes in 1910-1914. This list could be easily extended to include other works, such as Antonio Baião's two volumes A *Inquisição de Goa.*

**IMPROVING ACCESS TO THE HAG**

Turning now to the collections in the HAG and possible lines of inquiry, one of the first ideas for a possible project is a new archival guide, to replace the now very much outdated *Roteiro* by P.S.S. Pissurlencar (published in 1955). The major shortcoming of the *Roteiro*, in my opinion, is that titles of documents are listed in a strict alphabetical order which ignores the organization which produced them. As a result, different types of documentation produced by the same organization are listed under totally separate headings in the *Roteiro*. For example, documentation from the city council is listed under *acordãos, assentos, juramentos, provisões, senado da câmara*, and so on. This difficulty was undoubtedly the motivation behind the second major guide to the HAG, complied by V.T. Gune in 1973. Perhaps now would be the time for a young scholar, or perhaps more realistically a committee, to organize a new guide which combines the information from both these works (as well as from other articles on the HAG which have appeared since 1955), while verifying the chronological dates, number, and titles of volumes in each collection.

Another editing project which would assist in the access to HAG documents would be a new edition of J.A.I. Gracias now nearly forgotten *Index...* to the *Livros dos Monções* published in a number of volumes in the first series of *O Oriente Português* and collected in an off-print (published in 1918). An updated, edited, and expanded edition of this index would be a welcome guide to a major collection in the HAG.

## POSSIBLE NEW LINES OF INQUIRY AND SOURCES IN HAG

One of the trends in 19th and early 20th century historiography around the globe was writing about the history of various institutions. For a number of reasons, this particular framework or view of history did not develop in approaches to the *Estado da India,* at least not to the extent that it did elsewhere. As a result, several fundamental institutions in the *Estado da India* either remain to be examined (in what would be initial studies) or would make excellent subjects for a modern re-examination. In this first category (institutions which have received little or no scrutiny whatsoever) we find the: *Conselho do Estado* (Council of State), the *Conselho da Fazenda* (Treasury Council), the Goan city council *(Câmara),* the *Junta das Missões,* and the Convent of Santa Monica. This is only a very short list and could be expanded to include institutions dependent on each of these larger bodies, such as the naval arsenal, the military hospital, the *pai dos cristãos* (already mentioned above), or quasi-independent institutions such as the Shelter of Mary Magdalene.

In the second category, one of the most obvious institutions which awaits a modern examination is the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia.* In spite of its local and imperial importance, the various chapters of the *Misericórdia* around the Portuguese world have not been examined sufficiently. In the case of Goa, Ferreira Martins' work, mentioned above, was published over eighty years ago. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only study focusing on this institution. Similar comments could be made for the High Court *(Relação).* The only studies which focus on this central authority are those by Gonçalves Pereira[8] and are little more than published documentation and lists of judges.

The type of study which I am suggesting is not the traditional micro-institutional examination which might have appeared a century ago but a discussion of this institution in the larger framework of Goan or South Asian society as a whole. Beginning with a description of the institution (history, duties, and membership, etc.) the focus would move on to what this institution did (in theory and as well as in reality) and what impact these activities had on all of Goan society. Some institutions would more easily lend themselves to such an interactive view than would others. Certainly, at a very minimum, the records of the *Camara* and the *Misericórdia* have much more to say about all the people living in Goa than what has been gathered from these records to date. Another possible angle on such a study might be the "Goanization" of

a given Portuguese institution. This is of particular interest (and especially obvious) in the context of organizations created by the Portuguese for their exclusive use but which, over the course of two centuries, evolved into Goan concerns. Many institutions linked to the *Misericórdia* fall in this category, including the board of the *Misericórdia* itself, as well as its hospitals and shelters. A history of the Convent of Santa Monica would fall into this category, as well. My own recent work on this institution, for example, has shown that the Convent of Santa Monica was an economic and social cornerstone which first helped to hold together the outposts of the *Estado da India* until the 1700s. After that point, it increasingly became Goan in its orientation.

For any of these institutions listed above, the HAG is the major repository of the organization's records; any or all (and a good number or others not mentioned here) would make excellent and manageable topics for research. HAG collections which would support such a study of the Goan city council include *Acordãos e assentos da camâra de Goa* (14 codices), *Assentos e juramentos da camâra* (4 codices), and various collections titled *Senado de Goa* (around 75 codices). The activities of the High Court of Goa are documented in the *Chancelaria* (26 codices) collection as well as elsewhere. Records of the *Misericórdia* include a huge collection totaling almost 380 codices. However, if the chronological dates of the study ended at 1750, this would limit the documentation to about 25 of these 380.

Another of the real gaps in the literature and one that I have often found puzzling is the lack of serious monographs (or even extended essays) on most of the cities formerly under the control of the Portuguese. In fact, it is much easier to mention the few that have been examined rather than the many that have not. Cities as diverse as Melinde, Muscat, Hormuz, and São Tomé of Meliapor would be excellent subjects for an urban inquiry using HAG materials. Any work which resulted would be the first municipal examination of these towns. In addition, the cities of Diu, Daman, Bassein, and Chaul although subjects of several examinations done in Portuguese during the past century, await modern English language monographs which would be based on HAG documents. Very little has been written on the city of Malacca during its Portuguese period, as well. A comparative approach which contrasted two or more of these cities might also be productive.

Again, what I propose here are not traditional municipal studies that begin and end with the Portuguese administration. Rather, what I suggest are serious investigations of the social dynamics of these

towns, populated with African and Asian peoples, yet under Portuguese political control. For example, the land grant system of Portuguese and *castiço* women in the Bombay-Bassein region is a fascinating and complex story of female-based Portuguese attempts at long-term colonization in that region. In the case of all these cities and towns, the HAG is the major repository of documents for the Portuguese era.

Specific collections which could be used for these studies include: Diu (many volumes, but only 14 before 1750); Daman (8 volumes to 1800); Bassein (12 volumes); and Chaul (3 volumes). This is, of course, only a very rough indication of the amount of documentation available.

Another area which has not been explored and which the HAG has a number of collections is that of micro-history of *talukas* of Goa. For example, other than the fundamental work done by Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa,* the basic economic and demographic structure of areas outside the former city of Goa is virtually unknown. A demographic analysis of any of the various *talukas* would begin to fill in some of these blanks. Of course, the documentation for regions in the "Old Conquests" is much more complete; however, even an examination of a region in the "New Conquests," such as Ponda, could begin in the middle of the 18th century and end in our own times. Limiting the initial study to one *taluka* would also keep the project in focus and its completion (relatively) swift.

Specific collections which would form the basis for such work would include tax and census data collected from these regions since the beginning of Portuguese administration.

## CONCLUSION

My objective here has been to suggest a number of future projects which could be based on HAG documents. These are dictated by my own highly subjective interests. Historians have been using documents in the HAG since the days of Diogo de Couto or earlier. What I have deliberately suggested here are collections other than the famous *Monções do Reino* collection. In my view, more attention needs to be given to social interaction of the Portuguese with others, as well as to the five centuries of the evolution of Luso-Indian society. A number of distinct collections in the HAG lend themselves to such lines of inquiry, which I have suggested above.

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1. Pearson M.N., *Coastal Western India,* Concept Publishing Co. New Delhi, Pg 1.

2. Correia - Afonso, J (Ed), *Indo-Portuguese History : Sources and Problems,* Cambridge University Press, Bombay, 1981.

3. "Some Second Thoughts on Indo-Portuguese Historiography," pp. 132-147; and "Some Possible Fields of Research in the History of Portuguese India (16th-18th Centuries)," pp. 183-194.

4. Volume XVIII: 2 (1994), pp. 116-129.

5. *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge1994.

6. For more information on these, the reader is referred to the essay by M.N. Pearson cited in note 1 and to my article "Sources in Portuguese and Goan (India) Archives and Libraries (1500-1755): A Guide and a Commentary," in Lawrence J. McCrank, ed. *Discovery in the Archives of Spain and Portugal: Quincentenary Essays, 1492-1992,* The Haworth Press, Newyork 1993, pp. 291-318.

7. Boxer C.R., "Antonio Bocarro and the *Livro do Estado de India Oriental.* A Bio-bibliographical note," Garcia da Orta, número especial (1956): 204-219. Reprinted in *Portuguese Conquest and Commerce in Southern Asia, 1500-1750* Variorum Reprints, London, 1985. The Portuguese text was recently published (1992) in a lavish three volumed edition by the Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda in Lisboa could be the basis for the English translation.

8. Pereira, Carlos Renate Gonçalves, *História da Administração da Justiça no Estado da India, Século XVI,* 2 vols. Lisboa, Agencia Geral Ultramarina, Lisboa, 1964, and *Tribunal da Relação de Goa,* Lisboa, 1964.

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# Future Research in the Goa Archives : Some Suggestions

*G. V. Scammell*

The riches of Goa's Archives have often been remarked and their exploitation urged. Nor in vain. We have the classic writings of the late Panduranga Pissurlencar and those more recently of such scholars as Anthony Disney, Michael Pearson and Teotonio de Souza, to mention but a few[1]. Nevertheless, as Professor Pearson has himself observed, much remains to be done, especially in the period after about 1700, which has attracted nothing like the energies and skills lavished on the years of the founding and early fortunes of the *Estado da India*[2]. And perhaps most urgently research into the Goa Archives needs to tackle problems and face issues whose study has proved so fruitful elsewhere.

It is not my intention - nor indeed within my competence - to propose in this brief note that particular classes of documents preserved in Goa should be combed for particular information, but rather to suggest a number of topics which seem ripe for investigation or further investigation. Starting at the top of the social pyramid (or the bottom, according to one's political and economic predilections), it would be valuable to have a close examination of the alignment of political interests and forces within the *Estado* and of their interplay in the making of policy as revealed in the (published) records of the proceedings of the Council of State.[3] That empires grew, evolved or shrank as a result of the largely unchecked doings of imperial proconsuls is now something of a truism. The varying opinions and interests influential in the early years of Portuguese expansion in the East, the friction between Lisbon and Portuguese India, and between the various groups of Portuguese in India have been magisterially treated by Luis Filipe Thomaz and Genevieve Bouchon.[4] But such inquiries need to be extended into later centuries, following up the leads opened by, amongst others, Anthony Disney.[5] Moreover, from such studies it might be possible to contrast what happened in the *Estado* with what Lisbon thought should happen. It might also be possible to find out what the authorities in Goa in fact knew of neighbouring India; what their sources of information were; and to what extent their evaluation of the intentions and resources of indigenous powers (or anybody else, for that matter) was well founded. Light should be shed on some, or all of these questions by the already mentioned *Assentos do Conselho do Estado;*

by the *Ordens Regias,* together with the *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda;* the collection *Monções do Reino;* the *Correspondencia para o Reino;* the *Regimentos e Instruções;* and the *Livros das Pazes e Tratados da India.* The latter have of course been published, but as with so many early editions it is advisable to check the texts against the original. Needless to say, too, whatever is garnered from such sources needs to be tested against the observations of other contemporary Europeans, not least the members of the Religious Orders visiting or working in the East.

On a somewhat narrower stage there is room for a detailed study of the administration of the *Estado* and of Goa itself, looking into who was appointed to what office, what if anything they did when they got there, and what impact such action or inaction had. For this I suppose the prime sources would be the *Monções do Reino;* the *Portarias;* the *Livros das Merces Gerais* and the *Homenagens.* And perhaps it would be possible, from a close examination of the well known collection *Reis Vizinhos,* to amplify what has so far been discovered about the administration of neighbouring indigenous states. It might also be feasible, from an analysis of the terminology of documents received in Goa, to see whether local languages employed in such correspondence underwent any significant changes in the course of time.

There is, furthermore, ample scope for an extended study of the *Senado da Camara de Goa,* similar to that undertaken, from far less tractable sources, of that of Macau by George Souza.[6] We need to know, amongst other things, about this body's composition, functions and achievements, for which I take it the main sources would be the collections *Senado de Goa* and *Acordãos e Assentos da Camara de Goa.* It would likewise be of great value to see what can be learned about Goan society over a longer period of time than has as yet been attempted. For example Michael Pearson has pointed out that in some cases it might well be possible to trace the history of the holding and use of a particular piece of land from the 16th century to our own time, using the collection *Communidades.*[7] Then again the analysis of the formulae employed in pious bequests has elsewhere thrown invaluable light on changing popular beliefs, and could perhaps be attempted for Goa from the collections *Colegios* and *Conventos.* It should also be rewarding to investigate such economic and social matters, currently much in fashion, as the size and structure of families, the conditions of domestic life, wages, conditions of work, migration, the balance of

sexes, literacy, education, leisure pursuits, and the work and influence of women. Indeed on this latter topic it woul be interesting to see what would be brought to light by an examination of recruitment to a nunnery such as Santa Monica. For these and other related matters there would seem to be much information in *Monções* and in the records of the *Extinct Convents,* to which Teotonio de Souza has drawn our attention.[8]

In a different vein, but in harmony with the present interest - at least in North America and Europe - in warfare and military technology, it would be well worth seeing what can be found about the design, construction, upkeep and running of the great fortresses of the *Estado,* not least the magnificent Aguada of Goa itself. For this there would appear to be a considerable amount of material in *Monções; Fortalezes; Cartas e Ordens; Cartas Patentes; Cartas Patentes, Provisões e Alvaras.*

Finally, though much has of late been written on the economy of the *Estado* (and of Goa) and on their commercial relations with neighbouring regions and the wider world, we are still fundamentally in the dark as to the nature and pattern of trade after about 1700, notwithstanding a gallant pioneering essay by Michael Pearson. Analysis of the *Cartazes* (and of *Monções,* where some passes have come to rest) should reveal, as a preliminary survey by Pearson suggests, a great deal about indigenous commerce and shipping, not least who owned and commanded the vessels that touched at Goa.[9] Then on trade as a whole a fair amount more can probably be squeezed from the *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda; Assentos da Camara de Goa; Feitorias* and *Alfandegas.* And although we now have a brief study of Portuguese slavery in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea[10], a careful and detailed scrutiny of the material relating to Indian slavery contained in *Escravos* and *Monções* would be welcome, and would, one hopes be informed by an awareness of the sort of questions historians of the Atlantic slave trade have sought to answer from their sources.

Many, if not all the topics mentioned in this short and superficial survey can of course only adequately be investigated by combining work in the Goa archives with research in repositories in Portugal, Spain and elsewhere in Europe. Easier said than done in these days of educational penury. Yet perhaps even as these words are being penned some are pursuing these very subjects (or better ones). If this be so, all power to their elbows!

## NOTES

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# Listening to the Text: The Many Voices of the Goa Archives

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These days Western scholars are revisiting their writings about other cultures with the aim of revealing the imagined character of their representations of those cultures. When other cultures are viewed through "Western eyes" and by indigenous scholars who are guided by Western scholarship there is a tendency to see texts and data through the lens of prevailing colonial agendas, theoretical frameworks and personal biases, and that is what leads to "Orientalist" labels that are now routinely applied to histories of the cultures to the East of Europe, thanks to the work of Edward Said.[1] The resulting authoritative texts which have guided Westerners' understandings of other cultures are now recognized as "true fictions" about the nature of Asian and African societies.

The imagined nature of Orientalist constructions is as true for India as anywhere else. Inden argues that the West's attempts to characterize Indian society relies on "multiple determinacies."[2] In this view though, the content of, say, Dumont's version differs from Baden-Powell's; there is the recurring presupposition in Western representations that some essence underlies the village system.[3] The resulting "essentialism" neglects the discourse of indigenous actors and the resulting characterizations often reflect the agenda and biases of the observer.

Indeed, characterization of Goan society are no less susceptible to the imaginings and agendas of Western scholars. Colonial texts have been read to construct an authoritative world in which colonizers set the agenda for the colonized. Much of our understanding of the structures of domination are inscribed by hegemonic texts based on one-sided readings of documents. This is especially true of the Portuguese documents dealing with the lives of native Goans. We propose that scholars listen more closely to the voices of the texts so that the writings that have guided our interpretation of the Goan past might be re-evaluated. The theme of this essay is to suggest the representation of the message of the texts of Portuguese rulers and to propose new areas of research to which the heightened sensitivity to the discourse of the texts can be fruitfully applied.

In 1989 and 1990 we had the opportunity to carry out research in the Historical Archives of Goa on Portuguese documents on the daily lives of Goans in the 16th and 17th centuries. We encountered countless documents written by Portuguese administrators evaluating their policies toward Goans and their religion. We were surprised to encounter in these texts more than one voice and quite a number of alternative realities. Since our preconceived view of Portuguese rule was one of complete domination and control of the economic life and the master symbols of religion, we were surprised to find document after document in which the message of protest, avoidance, and resistance on the part of the subjects of Portuguese rule were revealed. We discovered by listening to the voices of Hindu and even Catholic resistance to Portuguese hegemony in the 16th and 17th centuries a bold, and in many ways unique challenge to colonial State authority in the battle for control of "master symbols." Indeed the resistance was successful in that it created a diaspora culture whose most visible symbols, the temples just outside the area of Portuguese control, still draw thousands to the numerous festivals. In a multitude of ways these festivals and temples, many remarkably explicit, celebrate the vibrancy of the Hindu religion in the face of Portuguese attempts to stamp it out. Hindu resistance in Goa was different from the well known non-violent examples of protest.

Other well known cases of resistance seemed to be somewhat different from the one we saw in Goa. For example, Zionism in South Africa, which transformed signs of Protestant orthodoxy into an ideology of resistance,[4] and the informal discourses of peasants in Malaysia, which have been shown to negate hegemony,[5] the appropriation of the symbols of resistance did not directly defy or confront those in charge. Goan Hindus, and, at times, Catholics, in contrast, were more confrontational, and their protest involved the sacrifice of livelihoods and in some cases, lives while challenging the rules and defying the decrees of the colonial authorities.[6]

The evidence for the resistance to Portuguese rule can be found in both the palpable, direct defiance of colonial policies under threat of punishment and in the more subtle ways that losers, fearing punishment, are forced to make their arguments. Some Hindu deities were transported by migrating groups[7] and were simply relocated to avoid persecution in lieu of resisting it under Muslim rule,[8] the direct connection between the transport of the deities and the resistance to Portuguese policies in Goa needs to be demonstrated. Were Hindus

merely fleeing the jurisdiction of a draconian repressive regime or actively resisting their policies? Portuguese documents and Hindu temple histories, from opposing positions, are remarkably explicit about the connection between the relocation and activities of the temples and their role in instigating the populations under Portuguese control to defy the rules and thus provide the foundation for making this connection. More subtle indications of resistance can be found in the rituals and festivals which delineate a common ground of Goan culture that celebrates modalities and practices that were explicitly prohibited by the Portuguese.

The following discussion of Goan Hindu defiance of colonial authority provides a dramatic and vividly documented early example which negates prevailing stereotypes, rooted in Orientalist thinking, about the acceptance of subordination and domination in India.[9] It also provides answers to questions about the formation of the consciousness of opposition to colonial power and shows that the process of cultural change and the construction of cultural forms has to be understood as part of the long-term process of protracted opposition of colonial domination. In actively protecting and controlling the key religious symbols, most visibly by transporting their deities into the neighbouring Hindu and Muslim states, the Hindus directly contested the Portuguese control of their culture. That this culture of resistance emerged throughout Goa, continuing through the brutal years of the conversion and inquisition, suggests that defiance was part of a broader regional cultural process that endured in the face of a sustained conversion effort by the colonial rulers. By combining the results of ethnographic and archival research, the authors will present the background and content of that resistance and delineate the local and regional processes by which a new culture emerged.

Contesting the Portuguese colonial system in this particular fashion was partly due to the peculiar characteristics of 16th century mercantile trade. In most 19th century colonial or 20th century neo-colonial scenarios, peasantization and proletarianization of native peoples, were the dominant features of social change. The symbolic domain in those cases, even in the face of missionary activity, was often independent of those forces. But Portuguese mercantile activities were essentially devoted to the extraction of commodities and control of the movement of goods from Asia to Europe rather than outright control of production. The *Estado da India* was a state based on a network of trade routes

rather than territorial integrity,[10] and, as its military and political centre, Goa gained its economic hegemony from the control of maritime connections rather than from rule over the land. Even by 1630, forty or fifty years after the decline of the Portuguese seaborne empire began, 47 per cent of the revenue in Portuguese India was derived from taxing seaborne commerce while 31 per cent came from agriculture and other land based taxes.[11] There were only a few export crops grown in Goa itself in the 16th and 17th centuries. The precolonial village structures were essentially preserved by Portuguese policies in that tax structures, village productive systems, and economic relations were not much changed.[12] Though many private fortunes were made in Goa by Hindu traders[13] (inspite of bans on their religious activities and participation in the economy) and by the Portuguese, there was no great transformation in the modes of production as in colonial Africa and Asia. The mercantile system produced very different relations between the colonizers and colonized than seen in later examples of colonization.

The Goan experience was also unique because the economies of the mercantile system were based primarily on extraction and not on territorial control: Portuguese conversion policies, though regional in effort, were only rigorously enforced in the small area under their direct control. In some cases, the deities only had to be moved a few miles to escape Portuguese policies and this proximity facilitated cultural contacts between the new temples and the Goan Catholic villages.

Several well known and oft-told lessons about Hinduism are evident in Goa. Like those Muslim rulers in India who pursued policies of forced conversions, the Portuguese mistakenly believed that they could eliminate Hinduism by destroying the temples, implementing draconian conversion policies, and systematically discriminating against Hindus. But more than 450 years after the Portuguese attempted to remove every vestige of Hinduism from Goa, it remains, transformed but in remarkably vibrant form. The ritual and mythical connections between Hindus and Catholics indicate more than Hindu survivals or syncretic traits: the growth and development of Hinduism under the Portuguese mark the development of a complex variant of South Asian culture. Though Goan Hindu culture under the Portuguese was fragmented and dispersed, the reconstructed Goan version provides an extraordinary opportunity for combining ethnographic analyses of contemporary religious practices with archival evidence in an ethnohistorical analysis of cultural resistance and reformulation.

## Voices of Resistance

While no informed scholar goes so far as to portray it in such an extreme way, it is easy to get the impression from much of the extant literature that the arrival of the Portuguese in India was a colossal cultural juggernaut which stamped out a native cultural system and supplanted it with an Asian enclave of Western civilization. Accounts by some Catholics about the Christianization of Goa, apologists for Portuguese rule, Hindu opponents of Portuguese rule, monographs on Goan culture and society, and modern day impressions of casual visitors to Goa and many educated Indians often portray Goa as a Christianized, Lusified corner of India.[14] Indeed, on reading the goals of those connected with the *Padroado* and correspondence by many church and State luminaries in the *Estado da India* during the 16th and 17th centuries, the impression is received that the Portuguese were achieving great success in transforming Goa into a satellite of metropolitan Portugal. Document upon document chronicles mass conversions, the destruction of all the temples in Goa, and the swift success in Christianizing virtually every village in Goa.[15]

The book has yet to be written assessing the varying reports on the levels of brutality and the willingness of Goans to convert to Christianity. It is highly unlikely that an entirely accurate account can ever be created because of the varied evidence. D'Costa, in a book which is largely an apology for the conversion policies, notes the same kinds of contradictions in the archival record that we find.[16] Local traditions, he reports, tell of violence, resistance and the number of other official documents report warm receptions and mass conversion. Most documents and accounts concur that temples were destroyed and churches were erected in their place, though the levels of violence and brutality that accompanied them are difficult to determine and varied from village to village. There are also consistent reports of large numbers of Hindus fleeing the conversion, though the accounts vary on the proportion of the population who left. The matter is complicated by the periodic return of some Hindus and half hearted conversions of others.

Contemporary Goa can also provide a misleading view of the nature and success of the conversion policies. Visually, Goa stands in stark contrast to neighbouring Hindu India. Every village in the Old Conquests is dominated by a huge church, many of which date to the period of active Christianization in the mid - 16th century and are

centrally located on the sites of the village temple. In the mid - 19th century, the date of the earliest published census, Catholics were the clear majority of the population in the Old Conquests, comprising 77 per cent in Ilhas, 95 per cent in Salcete and 83 per cent in Bardez.[17] Most Catholics have adopted Portuguese Christian names, and have worn European dress since the early days of conversion.[18] Today, many Catholic homes in villages in the Old Conquests resemble Mediterranean bungalows, and parts of Panaji, the modern capital of Goa, with its flower-laden verandas and brightly painted balconies projecting over small narrow lanes, could be mistaken for Lisbon neighbourhoods. There is no shortage of criteria by which it would be easy to conclude that in Goa the Portuguese were able to clone an extension of Lusitanian culture in Asia, and that is the common impression held by many scholars and residents of India.

However, other documents in the late 16th and early 17th century tell a story of frustration and recidivism on the conversion front. Portuguese administrative, military, and religious officials spoke often of the difficulties they faced in carrying out their policies, and numerous references to the intransigence of Hindus can be found from the mid - 16th century through the end of the 17th century. In the midst of great claims of success in converting entire villages and destroying virtually all of the Hindu temples in Ilhas, Salcete and Bardez,[19] is a persistent commentary on their inability to carry out those policies within the area of Portuguese control. More consistently, comments reveal their inability to control the Hindu activities in the areas outside of Portuguese jurisdiction, in which Goan Hindus and Catholics participated. There is ample archival evidence of the frustration of the Portuguese officials in carrying out their conversion policies.

For example, the Portuguese pledged to destroy Hindu temples and in doing so, limit or stop the practice of Hinduism. Their lack of success shows in the following documents:

In the mid - 16th century, the Viceroy, Dom João de Castro receives a letter from the king stating that the King has received news that there are still public and private temples on the Island of Goa. He orders the Viceroy to prohibit all public and secret temples as soon as the king's letter is received.[20]

King Dom Sebastião signs a letter on 25th March, 1559 informing the Viceroy that it has come to his attention that :

on Goa and annexed lands there are many offenses committed by the infidels and Gentiles there who adore and publicly celebrate idols and temples and use diabolical rituals and, worst, in the presence of Christians besides.

He thus passes a law that "henceforward there be no more temples nor idols in any house nor anywhere in my realm."[21] A few years later, on 29th March, 1566 the King writes that no new temples can be built and that those existing ones cannot be repaired without the King's special licence under penalty of being razed.[22]

Inspite of the destruction of many Hindu temples, royal correspondence (the so-called "Monsoon letters") to the Viceroys and Governors of the *Estado da India* throughout the 16th century deal with the topic of Hindu temples in Christian lands :

The king writes on 28th March, 1580 that there are to be "no temples, no idols, no festivals allowed:" this was supposed to be done in 1568, but he knows that "many Hindus keep reverting to their rituals particularly in Salcete and Bardez which is detrimental to the conversion process."[23]

Not only do the Portuguese find it impossible to rid the realm of the visible symbols of Hinduism, the temples and idols, but also of the practice of Hinduism itself.

A letter from the viceroy written in 1580 reports that :

Hindus set a bad example for new converts by worshipping idols and causing them to return to their old ways and rituals. The Hindus persevere in their idolatry and abominable errors. Anyone who impedes the work of conversion should be seriously punished. They cannot be allowed to have idols nor carry out festivals in their honour.[24]

The same decree is issued in 1633![25]

In 1571 and again in 1581 the kind passes decrees forbidding temples and Hindu ceremonies.[26]

On 25th February, 1581 the King states that he bans, as his predecessors did, Gentile (Hindu) temples, ceremonies, rituals and festivals.[27]

Many important government posts were held by Hindus even though this was not royally sanctioned. Repeated attempts to disallow this practice attest to the perseverance of Hindus in these offices, against the King's orders.

In 1582 Hindus are once again forbidden from holding public office, noting that Hindus had not met their obligation to convert to Christianity.[28] The King had learnt that Brahmans and Gentiles were *rendeiros* and *contratadores* (renters or tenants and contractors) of his lands. That is forbidden since it is against canon law. King Sebastião previously passed a law on 23rd March, 1559 saying that none of his officers or royal servants could be Brahmans, Gentiles or other infidel.[29]

And later, on 12th January 1591, the King passes an *alvara* (decree) because he has been informed that his *dezembargadores* (chief magistrates and privy councilors) and other lettered men serving him in India have generally been Gentile Brahmans, and this must stop.[30]

Official thinking was to encourage conversion by reserving important posts only for Christians. Enticements to convert came in many other shapes as well:

In 1583 the King writes that it has come to his attention that many Hindus leave their wealth without heirs. At the request of the Hindus, he allows their widows or other relatives to inherit that wealth provided they convert to Christianity.[31]

Native reactions to conversion policies frequently were in the form of escape to what is referred to in the documents as *"terra firme"* or *"a outra banda"* or the "land of the Moors" (the territories beyond the orbit of Portuguese control).

In September of 1595 a lengthy missive by the *Pai dos Cristãos* or Father of the Christians (the appointed official in charge of all catechumens) instructs the priests to learn the days of the Hindu festivals so as to stop them and punish the participants. Similarly he admonishes his priests to anticipate pilgrimages and marriage ceremonies so as to intervene. All orphans must be located because the infidels are taking them to the *terra firme*.[32]

The Viceroy Ayres Saldanha proclaims on 23rd March, 1604 an *alvara* (decree) that it is forbidden to carry any and all youths, whether Christian or Gentile orphans, to "the other side." It is happening too frequently.[33]

In 1609, the King complains that too many new converts are fleeing to the land of the "Moors." Ten years later on 15th February, 1619 Lorenço de Tavora receives a letter from the King complaining about too many going to the *"outra banda."*[34] A petition of 17th August, 1633 notes that newly converted Christians are enticed by the Hindus to

leave the faith and join them on the "other side:" too many temples are maintained there. Many have left their lands and wealth behind while fleeing to the other side.[35] The Viceroy, Dom Miguel de Noronha writes on 11th January, 1633 complaining about those who impede conversion or those who pervert a large number of those already converted or who hide orphans and take them over to *terra firme* and build temples there.[36]

The Portuguese seemed to be unsure about what to do about contacts with Hindus on the other side. A solution to the problem of Hindu wedding ceremonies occurring in the realm was to order them to take place "on the other side." This, however, created other problems:

A letter written in the late 18th century discusses a law passed in response to Hindu complaints about being robbed on their way to the land of the Moors (where they had to go by law to marry). Thus, to avoid highway robbery, the law allowed them to have their wedding ceremonies at home behind closed doors. However, they were not allowed to have their priests or other temple officials in attendance so that no sacrifices or rituals would be performed. The Hindus wrote to complain that their wedding ceremonies were thus invalid without priests in attendance to perform the proper ceremonies, and that their women were defiled and their children considered illegitimate.[37]

More than a century before, King Philip had written on 5th March, 1624 to the Viceroy in Goa to reinforce the decrees and provisions as passed by Jeronimo de Azevedo in May of 1613 and later by Fernão de Albuquerque in January of 1620 and again in May of 1621 that Hindu weddings not be allowed to take place. But they were still taking place in private homes inspite of these provisions and the Hindus continued going to the lands of the Moors "where they freely practise their superstitious ways." King Philip, with a copy sent to the Archbishop and to the Inquisitors, approved and confirmed the said prior provisions on 9th May, 1625.[38]

The ongoing dilemma of Hindu wedding ceremonies is amply documented as it appears in the numerous laws passed throughout the 17th century alone. The repeated measures taken trying to restrict and/or forbid them seem to have been largely ineffectual. At one point Hindus were allowed to hold their ceremonies only on boats offshore in the dark![39]

Many manuscripts in the archives deal with the issue of converting masses of individuals, principally uninstructed in the faith, and its concomitant problems.

King Dom João writes to the Viceroy in response to his letter of 10 November, 1712 regarding another letter sent by the Father of the Christians dealing with decrees and provisions in favour of the propagation of the faith and conversion of the Gentiles.

Conversions must be official and not brutal. It is a principal obligation of the Kings of Portugal to treat the Gentiles, our vassals, with great care; there have been too many abuses; I thought I told you that certain privileges were to have been taken away from the Gentiles; in no way can vassal Gentiles attend frequently and publicly the festivals of their temples on *terra firme,* and they must stop making public offerings to their idols. You may not permit this under severe punishment and officials are prohibited from working on such works... Clear this up immediately. My laws must be followed.[40]

At the beginning of the 17th century King Philip wrote to the Viceroy to thank him for his efforts to convert all inhabitants of Salcete in true conversion and not just in appearance,[41] but in the King's letter of 22nd September, 1711 he complained to the Viceroy that there is not enough zeal in conversion efforts these days.[42]

A 1633 law by Count of Linhares regarding the Hindus of Salcete, who had fled to avoid converting, shows the intractability of these problems well into the 17th century :

Many Gentiles impede other Gentiles from converting and thwart a great number of those already converted, and they hide orphans and pass them over to *terra firme,* building many temples there with materials from our lands, performing Gentile ceremonies in them, frequently sacrificing roosters and other animals for which they bring master sorcerers and gurus from the *terra firme* who go to the Christians' houses, intimidating them and persuading them that the pains and illnesses they have are punishments from their gods for not adoring them; [the gurus] promise them health and long life if they send offerings [to the idols], bringing from said temples accounts and other things like relics which they distribute amongst the weakest in faith, trying to get them to swear to the idols at the hour of their death; it is equally notorious that such Gentiles have idols in their homes for whom they perform various ceremonies and they perform the same diabolical ceremonies amongst themselves and not publicly with great shouts and cries and pilgrimages to the temples of the *terra firme....* all of which besides causing a great scandal and ruin to the New Christians is against royal provisions Your Majesty has passed in favour of

Christianity; said Gentiles use great deceit and usury... In the service of Your Majesty [I order] the total expulsion of said Gentiles from the land of Salcete.... I hereby order that no Gentile from this day henceforward can live nor own homes in the lands of Salcete, with the loss of all privileges of their *gancarias,* nor can they own shares in the land nor have a voice, under penalty of death and loss of all their possessions... There will be a total separation of the Gentiles from the Christians during the two months in which the Gentiles have to sell their belongings and move out of Salcete.[43]

These documents, and scores of others like them, show that reports of great success and conversions of entire villages notwithstanding, enormous difficulties remained for those involved in converting Hindus to Christianity and enforcing the provisions of the various associated policies. The Portuguese seemed to be preoccupied by several issues: their inability to remove Hinduism from Goa; the continuation of the Hindu ceremonies and the degree of participation by Christian converts; the movement of Hindus in and out of the areas of Portuguese control; their frustration with the centres of Hindu activities in the "terra firme," those areas under the jurisdiction of native rulers in territories bordering Goa; and the Christianizing of widows and orphans. There is an obvious contradiction between the claims of conformity to the early royal decrees demanding complete Christianization of Goa in the mid-16th century and the continued persistence of Hinduism in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Recent commentaries on the history of the temples affirm the Portuguese frustration, though from a Hindu perspective. Most of the important temples have published their own histories, written mostly in Marathi.[44] They are remarkably uniform in presentation: traditional accounts of the temple's place in its pre-Portuguese village in the Old Conquests of Goa are followed by lengthy accounts of the brutal period of Portuguese oppression and the secret removal and reinstallation of the deity outside the area of Portuguese control. Though occasional documents from the archives are cited in support of these claims, it is clear that these accounts are part of the collective memory of the temple's *mahajans*. Some edited excerpts from Shri Ramnath Devasthan's own version capture the flavour and format of these histories.

In 1566 the Temple of Shantadurga of Keloshi was set on fire. During that year conversion movement in Salcete reached its climax.

All of a sudden the Fort Officer of Raitur, Diogo Rodrigues ordered the residents of Lotli to be present at the Fort. However, the order was not obeyed for fear of conversion. Annoyed at this, he destroyed the front portion of the main temple of Ramnath Devasthan. The residents of Lotli, angered by such an action, filed a court case against Rodrigues and his mates... Dissatisfied by the decision of the judge to preserve the temple, the Viceroy issued special permission to Rodrigues to demolish all of the temples of Salcete. Accordingly in 1567, Rodrigues demolished all of the remaining temples of Salcete. In the year 1566, due to fear of conversion, many residents of Lotli fled to places like Antruz Mahal, Kankon, Karwar, Mangalore, Cochin etc. A group of 250 persons marching towards the South were attacked by tigers. Twenty people were lost. A hunter asked them why they were risking their lives by going through the forest and subjecting themselves to risk. Why were they not returning to Goa where they could have land, jobs and everything else? They replied that nothing was more dear to them than their religion and that they would never leave their dearest and the best Hindu religion. It did not matter if they had to die for this.

In view of the atrocities committed by the Christian missionaries, the residents of Lotli became desperate and felt that they could not enjoy any stability and hence they shifted their revered deities to other places. Their intention was to take these deities to a place where they would be free from the influence of the Portuguese government and their fanatical priests. They selected the village Bandivdem (the modern day village of Bandora). They transported the idols by bullock cart. They acquired a vast plot of land on permanent lease from the Bandora village association for the purpose of the erection of the temple. The deities were brought to a safe place but the problem was how to manage the daily affairs. The entire wealth of the temple at Lotli was lost. Under such adverse circumstances they learnt to do business in the surrounding areas of Salcete and were meeting the expense by contributions collected among themselves. They engaged in business by day and came back to Antruz Mahal [a territory in the new conquest district of Ponda, then part of the Bijapur Kingdom] at night.

The Lotlikars thought it to be their responsibility to revive the old glory of the temple, and they purchased some lands and finalized plans to build independent temples for the deities.[45]

Other versions of these temple histories are similarly explicit about individuals and dates of events that took place more than 350 years

ago. Some use Portuguese records to support their claims; others, even in the absence of records, are just as precise in their accounts of the relocation of the temple. Though the Portuguese records and temple histories present these events in quite different terms, as would be expected, there is certainly enough evidence to confirm the significance of the return of the deities to their homes in the Old Conquests.

The diaspora and reconstruction of the temples in areas north and east of Goa, held by Adil Shah, and those west and south of Goa held by the Sonda kings, are thus confirmed by Portuguese records, temple histories, and Hindu rituals. The rather vivid collective memory of the traumatic events is not surprising. The survival and the celebration of the Hindu resistance through movement of the deities and re-establishment of the temples outside the area of Portuguese control are the best evidence. The persistence of the temples in the face of Portuguese oppression is a well known tale to most devotees of the temple, and current accounts and reenactments of their historic connections to their ancestral villages conform to the documentary evidence.

**The Village Records and Future Research**

The village records of Goa offer similar opportunities for listening to the voices of protest. They are a tremendous resource for the study of the village communities of Goa because they cover an extended period and they were records kept by the village scribes. Fifteen volumes of Portuguese language village records and correspondence for the Old Conquests in the 16th and 17th centuries are listed in the *Roteiro,* mostly from the village of Doncolim in the district of Ilhas.[46] De Souza reports records housed in the Historical Archives of Goa for many other villages.[47] Portuguese Orientalists, like their British counterparts, tended to focus the extraction of revenue and ownership of the land, and those documents are devoted primarily to those ends. But because these village records were maintained by local *kulkarnis* (scribes, usually *shaivite* Gaud Saraswat Brahmans who trace their descent to Cortalim, one of Goa's important villages), the representations in these records reflect the arguments of the *gauncares* themselves.

These documents reveal many perspectives on village life. Many focus exclusively on the material domains of village life: revenue, production, and laws of property transfer. But even in those documents,

details on sales and transfer of almost every material item make them a particularly valuable record of the economic life of the *communidades.* However, since these documents are composed by the villagers themselves or their agents, they are more than just inventories of economic transactions. There are also extensive commentaries on the hardships of Portuguese policies on their productive life, doubts about the efficacy of the conversion policies, and the lack of respect paid by the Portuguese to the caste system.[48]

For example, a memorandum presented on December 29, 1643 by the general assembly of Salcete village communities to King John IV of Portugal is replete with the language of domination and protest. On the one hand, they complain that some Christian *gauncares* are worshipping their village Hindu idols and offering a portion of their crops to them, seemingly tattling on errant Christians who are violating the rules of the Inquisition but also indicating that the conversions are not as successful as Portuguese authorities often proclaimed.[49] At the same time, they air the complaint that high caste Christians are treated worse than low caste Hindus by the Portuguese, at once buying into the programme of conversion, but also bridling at the ill-treatment they have received by the Portuguese.[50] The simultaneous message of acquiescence and resistance to the Portuguese programme provides unique insight into the discourse of the colonized.

These Portuguese language village records embody a different kind of knowledge than that of the numerous administrative records located in the archives. Such documents and works as the *Foral, Leis Peculiares das Communidades, Tombo,* and *Conselho da Fazenda*[51] reflect the central concern of the Portuguese rulers on taxation and religious conversion. Their basis for knowing the *communidades* relied almost exclusively on their own forms of knowledge. The village documents must be considered in the context of colonial rule. However, because they were also detailed accounts of daily life in the *communidades,* one has to listen closely to indigenous voices of protest and complaint.

In addition to the records in Portuguese, the Historical Archives of Goa also hold literally hundreds of volumes of Marathi language *communidade* documents in Modi script for more than fifty villages in the New conquests.[52] No scholar has made a systematic study of these documents, inspite of the fact that they are in excellent condition. These village documents cover the period between 1766 and 1890

and present an extraordinary opportunity for a variety of studies. Many of those records cover the years immediately preceding Portuguese administrative control and provide insights about the operation of these villages under external indigenous rulers.

Village records have not been totally neglected by the scholarly community. De Souza has relied on some Portuguese village records for his accounts of 17th century Goan Society[53] His translations of Portuguese documents and comprehensive search of Portuguese records of the period are exemplary, but his analysis is quite different from the one we propose. His representations of rural Goa feature mainly general descriptions of village structures and village-state relations, and reflect the 19th century Portuguese Orientalist bias towards land tenure and rules of revenue collection. There is little emphasis on the cult of the temples and churches and their complex connection to rules governing material lives, and he does not listen to the voices of resistance and protest. Moreover, his work focuses on a single century, and deals mainly with the municipalities and urban places in Goa and the life of the ruling class there.

We intend, in contrast, to listen to the voices and concerns of the villagers as they are expressed in these records. As the interaction between the colonizers and colonized, these village texts express an uneasy relationship between the two. While bucking under the dictates of the rulers, there is an undercurrent of complaint and protest. These texts need to be measured according to the context in which the various agents interacted. While the texts of the *Padroado* can be seen as hegemonic documents designed to inscribe a certain viewpoint onto the record, the Goan records of the villages under Portuguese rule seem to indicate that they were at once suspended in a state of submission and resistance that are clearly evident in the few texts we have examined so far.

There is also an unusual opportunity for a detailed comparison of life in the *communidades* in the Old and New Conquests. In the Old Conquests, the systematic attempts at conversion focused on the destruction of the village temples. In most of the villages whose *gauncares* were Brahmans, and in many of those with Maratha *gauncares* too, the deities were secretly carried into the neighbouring areas outside of Portuguese control. Local Hindu chiefs (who themselves were feudatories to the Adil Shah rulers who controlled the area around Goa during the early period of Portuguese rule) and

*communidades* helped facilitate the settlement of these deities in villages around Goa by providing sites, and, in some cases, agricultural land, for the escaped deities. Many Hindus fled in the wake of Portuguese persecution, but even the Catholic converts who stayed, continued to support the escaped deities from their native village. In the New Conquests today, the temples of the escaped deities are lavishly supported, often dwarfing the village temples of the *communidades* to which they escaped. Since New Conquests *communidades* were not subject to the rather brutal Portuguese conversion policies of the 16th and 17th centuries, the enduring relationship between village deity and productive system continued there.

The records of the New Conquests *communidades* provide an extraordinary opportunity to examine the village communities there in their uncolonized form. Early Portuguese documents testify that the *gauncares* and the *mahajans* (the descendants of the temple founders responsible for maintaining the "cult" of the deity) were one and the same before the destruction of the temples. The unity of this framework unraveled when the deities were separated from the village. This seamless quality of the material and ideological, of substance and code were essential to Hindu thought, and should not surprise students of South Asia where ample documentation of the fusing of moral systems and legal systems, place and person, and substance and code has been argued in the literature.[54] The New Conquests village community records provide an opportunity to examine the operation of the *communidade* prior to their deconstitution.

This is not to say that the New Conquests *communidades* operated as autonomous republics in the midst of the sequences of native rulers, as some orientalist literature would suggest. Like their Old Conquests neighbours, the New Conquests villages continued to maintain collective control of agricultural land through a variety of external regimes: Bijapuri, Adil Shah, Sawantwadi, and Sonda rulers controlled various parts of the New Conquests territories between the arrival of the Portuguese and their subsequent incorporation into Portuguese Goa more than 250 years later. But even as these regimes imposed a patchwork of land tenure arrangements on various parts of the New Conquests and on various kinds of property, the *communidades* persisted in their control of the wet-rice agricultural areas. The ecological context of the *communidades* is another subject for exploration, as the integrity of the system seems to be connected to wet-rice agricultural

production, but in complex non-mechanical ways (outside of the Goa region wet-rice production does not rely on communal productive arrangements) that we need to learn more about.

## Concluding Discussion

Future research in Goa would thus benefit from greater attention to the discourse of colonial domination.[55] Documents in the archives represent the primary fund of knowledge for the history of Goa. As they are the voice of authority for the study of colonial society in Goa, we should listen ever more carefully to what they have to say. Study of the multiple voices in Portuguese texts will help to reveal the many contradictions in colonial rule and render the picture of the transformation of Goan society under Goan rule more complex than has usually been accepted.

With this advice in mind, there is much work to be done with the staggering array of resources in the Historical Archives of Goa. Conventional treatment of Portuguese colonial rule ought to be reviewed and represented by examining how authors have incorporated the authority of documentary evidence into their constructions of Goan history. Neglected documents such as those of the New Conquests village communities provide new opportunities for listening to the voices of the ruled. Closer scrutiny of the alternative realities presented by the rulers and more attention of the mixed messages of the ruled will reveal a more complex and multifaceted account of Goa's past.

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commemorating the supposed Christianization of the villages of Assolna, Velim, and Cuncolim: as punishment the villages were confiscated and turned over to the Jesuit Order which eventually controlled a number of villages in the southern-most administrative district of Salcete. See Victor Fernandes, 'The Blessed Martyrs of Cuncolim,' *The Goan World* (November, 1936), pp. 37-39, and Carmo Azevedo, 'The Revolt of Cuncolim,' *Goa Today* (December, 1966), pp. 18-19. Also, towards the end of the 18th century, native missionaries of Goa revolted against domination by European missionaries. See *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: District Gazetteer, Part I, Goa,* ed. V.T. Gune, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1979, p. 187.

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8. The reaction to Muslim conversion policies was varied and more complex than the Goan response. S.M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India,* Columbai University Press, New York, 1964, p. 232 and Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1964, p. 199 suggests a connection between intensified Muslim conversion and various forms of Hindu resistance. However, in some instances, it appears that destruction of the temples by Muslim rulers led to complete cessation of activities associated with it. See S.M. Bhardwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973, p. 77. The pattern of Muslim proselytization ranged from peaceful persuasion of missionaries to forcible conversion by fanatical rulers and the results differed depending on the policies of the rulers and the practices of the indigenous populations. Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings,* provides examples of the varied reactions to Islamicization in her book on South India.

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11. See Anthony Disney, 'The Portuguese Empire in India,' in *Indo-Portuguese History,*ed. J. Correia-Afonso, Oxford University Press, Bombay 1981, p. 160 and M.N. Pearson, 'Goa's Overseas Trade,' in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History II,* ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, Concept, New Delhi, 1990, p. 150 which estimate that in the early 1630's only two per cent of Goa and Goa Islands came from and revenue (though for Bardez and Salcete the statistics are 50 per cent and 74 per cent respectively.) See Antonio Bocarro, 'Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoacoes do Estado da India Oriental,' in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, IV, Parte II,* ed. A. B. de Braganca Pereira tipografia Rangel, Bastora 1938. The low percentage for Goa reflects its status as the chief port of the *Estado da India* and the point from which the seas of western India were patrolled.

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20. MR 93B, HAG, fls. 358v-359r, n.d. Dom João de Castro was the Viceroy from 1545-1548. All translations are the authors' and have been modified to reflect modern syntax and punctuation.

21. *Ibid,* fl. 341v. For an example of the Brahmans secretly practicing their Gentile festivals and ceremonies in the darkness of the night, see Silva Rego, *Padroado,* Vol. VII, p. 331.

22. See no. 20 fl. 366r. This repeats King Dom Sebastião's 1559 prohibition of all Gentile ceremonies, rites, rituals, idols and temples. See Silva Rego, Padroado, Vol. VII, pp. 284-286, and for the 1560 attempt, see Padroado, Vol. VIII, pp. 58-59.

23. See no. 20 fl. 342r.

24. MS. 9529, Provisões a Favor da Cristandade 1513-1840, *HAG* fls. 60v-61v. For a complete list of the laws against infidel activity as passed by the Viceroy in 1567 at the request of the Holy Provincial Council of Goa, see Silva Rego, *Padroado,* Vol. X, pp. 405-413.

25. See no. 24, fls. 60v-61v, 17 August 1633.

26. *Ibid* 30v, 31r (1571), fl. 36v (1581).

27. See no. 20 fl. 342v. For a similar document dealing with prohibitions see *Padroado,* Vol. VII, pp. 284-286.

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# Development of Goa Archives During the past three decades and the problems

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Dr. T.R.Schellenberg and Sir Hilary Jenkinson, the two doyens of modern Archives administration have analysed in depth the characteristics and the importance of the archival records for the understanding of our history. The unique character of the archives like its impartiality, authenticity etc. are most valuable as compared to the other source material. Archival documents are not created to appease or hurt anybody, they are impartial natural documentation created in the course of a particular achievement. In fact in the words of Dr. Schellenberg the "two essential factors, firstly to be archives, documents must have been created or accumulated in the accomplishment of some purpose and secondly, the documents must have been preserved for reasons other than those for which they were created or accumulated."[1] These essentials are spelled more unambiguously by Sir Hilary Jenkinson for whom the most essential is the respect for the great qualities of archives viz. their uniqueness, impartiality, naturalness and independence and the authority taking over the archives must be prepared to subscribe to the ordinary rules of Archives management directed to the preservation of the Archives character.[2] Archival manuscripts are distinguished from the library manuscripts by a primary essential that "the archival records are not merely achievements but the processes by which they are accomplished."[3] The definitions of the archives by these two doyens of archival administration are more exhaustive than the Oxford dictionary definition as " a place in which public records or historical documents are kept; a historical record or document so preserved."[4] The intention of quoting from these two treatises, which provide the basic lessons in every Archivist training is to understand the importance of the records in Goa archives, which were created by a power which wielded a monopoly of maritime authority and controlled the sea - route and trade with Asia for over a century before any other European power could make a dent in its monopolistic authority. The importance and the impartial nature of the records in Goa archives is undisputable and many scholars the world over have been using these records for a better and faithful understanding of the world history during the past four and half centuries. It's to the credit of Portuguese regime that they maintained the record of everything

they observed so also all the administrative instructions in a written form.[5] For instance, such simple basic instructions to the administration in Goa for sending all the reports to the King in Portugal in three copies (Triplicate) is faithfully recorded in a document of the year 1540 in the Monções do Reino Vol. 2B[6]. The records are faithful in all respects with such precision that even the destructions done by the Portuguese and the Church is faithfully recorded in its records.

Nearly all archives administration manuals prescribe certain qualifications for the custodians of the archives. Dr.T.R. Schellenberg and Sir Hilary Jenkinson are univocal on the primary duty of the custodians of the archives as the preservation of the documents for posterity. Dr. Schellenberg states "In general an archivist should help the inquirers in every possible way.... He should give his knowledge about records unstintingly, even at a sacrifice of his own research interests".[7] This was considered as a maxim for the profession of the Archivist. It may be recalled that according to Dr.K.P. Srivastava, an eminent archivist in India, "Archivist include all who work in the archives and not necessarily the Keeper or the Director only".[8] Dr. Srivastava further enumerates the primary functions of an Archivist, the essential among them is the maintenance, ensuring their safety and availability. Related to this are the functions of sorting, numbering, listing and arrangement in the repositories. Closely related to it is the preparation of the inventory and the other primary means of reference so also preparation of search materials so that the tracking of each unit of the records is facilitated.[9] Sir Jenkinson, while commenting on the qualifications of an Archivist laid an axiom that " an Archivist's primary duty is the preservation of his records and provision of access to them only a secondary one".[10] This view was contested by another eminent Archivist Dr. E.K.Timings for whom the archivist's first responsibility is the proper custody and arrangement of the records, but the archivist should not forget 'his purpose is not some sort of archivistic ideal but to make accessible the raw material of history to the enquirer".[11] The question of the archivist's qualifications is broached on because the progress and the development of the Goa archives over the centuries and particularly during the past three decades, a period during which I had the opportunity of silently observing and at times participating in its developmental programmes can be traced only in context of archivist's primary functions as laid down by these great authorities in archives administration. In fact this is an honest enquiry in the three decades of archival management and the professionalism demonstrated

by the persons in charge of the archives and into the shortcomings of such persons, whose failures to stick to the approved archival policies and provide a right impetus and direction for the development of the archives when it was most needed in protection of this precious heritage of mankind and the repercussions, we are bound to face in the near future as a result of such shortcomings.

The Goa Archives has always been unfortunate in some respects like getting "a true selfless archivist who cared only for the records and not to his scholastic pursuits, one who provided a direction for the safety and preservation of the records and concentrated more on providing necessary tools to any interested inquirer to have easy access to the records in his custody".[12] Even the first *Guarda Mor* (chief Record Keeper) of *Torre do Tombo do Estado da India* as the archives was known during that time and the Chronicler of the Portuguese History Diogo de Couto did not have a smooth sailing during his tenure as even though the alvara for the creation of *Torre do Tombo* in *Estado da India* and his appointment as first Keeper of Records was issued on 25th February, 1595 by Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, the actual records were not transferred to his custody till the year 1602 A.D. Diogo de Couto did the pioneering work of bringing all the documents of the regime in one place for their preservation as archives and utilized the same for producing the chronicles of Portuguese History. His scholastic works have left an indelible mark on Portuguese history. However, the custodians of records that succeeded this great Chronicler did not live to the expectations and have left very little as their contributions to the written history. The criticism to their failures as *Guarda Mor* and *Chroniclers* have been faithfully recorded in many records. The immediate successor of Diogo de Couto, one Gaspar de Ayres was considered incapable for the job of *Guarda Mor* as per a record in the archives.[13] Except for some noteworthy contributions from Antonio Bocarro appointed as the Keeper of Records in 1631 in the form of *Livro das plantas de todas as Fortalezas, cidades, e Povoações do Estado da India Oriental, Decádes da Historia da India* (1612-1617); *Reformação do Estado da India and Livro dos feitos de Gonçalo* Pereira etc.,[14] no successor of Diogo de Couto left any valid contribution.[14] Sensing the incapability of successive persons the office of the Keeper of the Records and the Chronicler was bifurcated in the year 1669 A.D. The preservation condition of the records in the archives started deteriorating and the concern was voiced in a report dated 16th June, 1806 by Vincent Salvador Roiz who wrote about the fragile

condition of the documents due to the high humidity.[15] However, no Keeper of Records took any sensible measures to arrest the decay of the documents. On the contrary many volumes from *Monções do Reino* series were taken away to Portugal resulting in a gap, so also thousands of records relating to the Inquisition were burnt in the wake of the attacks of the Marathas in 1779 to avoid defamation to the families of the state and the future intrigues.[16] This has caused irreparable damage to Goa Archives. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara who came to Goa as Secretary to Governor-General in 1855,[17] initiated the work of salvaging some of the records by printing the documents in the form of *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* series.

The original record holding of the *Torre do Tombo do Estado da India* was only 1500 volumes in the year 1930,[18] when the name of the archives was changed to *Arquivo Geral e Historico da India Portuguesa.* Dr. Pandurang S.S. Pissurlenkar was appointed as Curator of Archives in the year 1931 partly due to his zeal and love for historical records. The recognisition as a historian came to him for publishing a series of historical records in the form of 'Antigualhas' and use of the state records in his Marathi publications, like Maratha-Portuguese Sambhanda. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, the advisor on record keeping to the Government of Bengal in 1925 and later the Director of the Imperial Archives of India,who was a great admirer of Dr. Pissurlenkar's works in Portuguese history, came to Goa in the year 1925 and on his recommendations, Dr. Pissurlenkar was appointed in the year 1931 as the Curator of Archives in Goa. In 1937 the archives was again renamed as *Cartorio do Governo Geral do Estado da India.* It was once again shaped into a separate department in 1953 with the efforts of Dr. Pissurlenkar with the name *Arquivo Historico do Estado da India.*[19] The condition of the records thence was deplorable as described by Dr.S.N.Sen but with the diligent efforts of Dr. Pissurlenkar the records were maintained properly.[20] The record holding during the period was about 20,000 volumes all stored in bound condition in wooden cupboards. This effort was probably the first attempt at systematic record management in Goa Archives. Dr. P.S.S. Pissurlenkar, without any formal training as a historian or as an Archivist succeeded in bringing all the historical records in one place,[21] repairing and arranging them in neatly bound volumes in wooden cupboards. In the history of Goa Archives we see for the first time, a modern approach towards archives keeping during the tenure of Dr. Pissurlenkar. He also prepared the first search aid in the form of the *Roteiro dos Arquivos*

*da India* Portuguesa published in the year 1955.[22] Save for an English version of the guide to the records to Goa Archives by Dr. V.T. Gune in the year 1973[23] with some updated entries, the *Roteiro* has remained the only publication answering the requisite of a search tool for an archival repository. It is to the credit to Dr. Pissurlenkar that he succeeded where others have failed and regrettably his successors except for Dr. Gune, did not apply themselves in creating such primary reference tools even though the increase in the record holdings in Goa Archives warranted preparation of such a guide. *Roteiro* gives a photograph of the condition of a volume of *Monções do Reino* before it was taken up for repairs and rehabilitation.[24] Dr. Pissurlenkar's work is even more creditable because he knew his records well and tried to keep them in a usable condition, for putting them to maximum utilization.

After liberation of Goa, in 1961 the Historical Archives of Goa was for a period under the control of the National Archives of India with Dr. V.T.Gune as the Keeper. With the acceptance of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee constituted for reorganization of the Goa Archives on modern principles of archives keeping and their scientific preservation, maintenance and publication the new Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum was formed with Dr. V.T.Gune as the first Director. Dr. Gune strived to develop the archives by inducting modern scientific methods for the preservation of archives and also continued with the drive of centralization of the records.[25] Dr. Gune brought out a modified English version of the *Roteiro* in the form of "A Guide to the collections of records from the Goa Archives, Panaji" in 1973.This is probably the last published guide to the records in the Goa archives till date as no successor of Dr. Gune applied himself to this primary duty of an Archivist.

The technically trained personnel who were inducted in the Goa Archives in the year 1973 however contributed in some measure to the present growth of the archives. The Department with a modest building designed for a primary school in Mala, Panaji and housing only 20,000 volumes in wooden cupboards was converted into a mega storage area comprising of about 10 Kms. linear length of rack space at the Head Office and another 4 kms. rack space at Daulat repository in St.Inez, Panaji. The stack rooms, equipped with steel racks of design and standards laid down by the Indian Institute of Standards are now housing more than 200,000 files and Volumes. The drive to centralize the records was undertaken soon after the reorganization process had

taken shape with the appointment of technically qualified persons for the purpose. Some of the documents that were collected immediately after liberation defied all archival management rules/theories as these records were brought packed in gunny bags or in open truck loads, 13 truckloads to be precise and dumped on the floors of a rented building in St.Inez. The heaps of the records with rotten papers were a home for breeding of stray animals like cats and birds for many years. The records were so heavily infested that very few dare to enter the area for fear of contracting some disease.[26] Very few people and the scholars utilizing these records are aware of the dedication and stupendous work that was put in for sorting , listing, cataloguing of thousands of such records during the past three decades. One dedicated Archivist in the true sense who could be credited for achievement of this tremendous work is Dr. S.H.K.Mhamai, who truly followed the footsteps of Dr. Pissurlenkar in salvaging and listing every bit of paper as one never knows who is going to use it in future. The present day Daulat repository of the Directorate is a testimony of the years of hard work put in by this dedicated Archivist. Dr. Mhamai with his zest and application for acquisition of pre-liberation records of Portuguese regime constantly visited each and every creating agency in all parts of Goa against all odds, coaxed them in preparing the necessary transfer lists and succeeded in acquiring a wealth of records from nook and corners of Goa. As a result the records in Goa Archives swelled to over 200,000 files/volumes from the original nucleus of 20,000 volumes. The acquisition of the record from the following offices not only added more depth to the archival holdings but it transformed the very nature of the archives office into a vibrant and useful Institution, which is frequented daily by scores of Public seeking the copies from the birth records, land registration volumes, Notarial deeds and Court records etc. and also earning sizeable revenue for this Directorate. Some of the new additions to archives are as follows:[27]

1. Fazenda records (Directorate of Accounts, Panaji) from 1677 to 1965. amounting to nearly 7899 files.
2. Court records from Panaji, Ponda, Mapusa and Margao covering period from 1727 to 1959 amounting to 1,06,122 files.
3. Birth records from Civil cum Sub Registrars from Vasco, Bardez, Bicholim, Quepem, Ilhas, Margao, Ponda, Sanguem, Pernem, etc. covering an approx. period from 1605 to 1961 amounting to nearly 10,752 volumes.

4. Records from the Excise Commissioner for the period 1951 to 1963 numbering 13 volumes.
5. Records from Collectorate of Goa from 1881 to 1960 totalling 200 volumes.
6. Records from Marmagoa Port Trust pertaining to 1841 to 1957 total 5,266 volumes.
7. Revenue records from Mamaltdars of Bicholim, Canacona and Ilhas covering period from 1829 to 1964 totalling 2,817 volumes.
8. Records from Administrative Tribunal (Panaji) covering period from 1919 to 1960 totalling 385 volumes.
9. Captain of Ports from 1916 to 1963 totalling 148 volumes.
10. Records of the Public Works Department (Panaji) for the period 1942 to 1960 total 63 volumes.
11. Records from the office of Lt. Governor of Goa from 1951 to 1959 about 47 files.
12. Communidade records from Salcete and Bardez pertaining to year 1735 to 1959 totalling to 1,647 volumes.
13. Land Registration Volumes from Bardez, Ilhas and Bicholim covering the period from 1680 to 1960 and totaling 880 volumes have been taken over.

It is to the credit of Dr. Mhamai that all these records are now adequately listed and arranged properly, facilitating the search for any volume.

The Department went ahead with its acquisition programme, however the further processing of the records series was not pursued with the same vigour as we do not find any advanced search tools developed by the Directorate. The access to the documents is still by the same rudimentary and laborious system of leafing through the pages of the volumes. The guide to the Goa Archives developed by Dr. V.T.Gune was never really improved upon and updated till date and hence the Scholarly world is still unaware of the additional source material as a result of these acquisitions in Goa Archives. Reference tools which are so essential for an efficient archives management have not been developed till date and no serious efforts were made in this direction. An ideal reference tool, even to the old historical documents in the Goa Archives is not available and no efforts were also done to develop the same. *Monções do Reino, Reis Vizinhos* and

other series forming the pride of Goa Archives were never really exploited and utilized. The total contents of any particular volume is unknown to any scholar or to the staff of the Goa Archives as no systematic effort in this direction have been done. Eminent scholar on Portuguese History like Dr. Teotonio D'Souza, who has utilized the original records from Goa Archives for a number of years has rummaged through the cupboards of manuscripts volumes in a bid to locate the documents for his research work. Some of the documents from the *Monções do Reino* series taken to Portugal in the year 1777 were published in Portugal under the title *Documentos Remetidos da India*[28] Some more documents from the volumes have either been published in one form or other and the summary of some important documents is found in either Roteiro or Guide to Goa Archives. Some more transcripts of the documents are available in the publication of the Directorate namely Purabhilekh-Puratatva[29] and the earlier Newsletter of the Directorate.[30] Other than these we find some documents published in transcript or translation form in Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina by Dr. A. DA Silva Rego[31] between 1954 to 1970.Dr. Silva Rego's published documents should havė provided the Directorate a direction for pursuing such a project of its own but unfortunately such foresight was not demonstrated by anyone in charge of the Archives. We also find some more similar publications of documents from Goa Archives in periodicals like *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India, Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama.*[32] Dr. Pissurlenkar again remains the only Archivist pursuing a vigorous publication policy and was credited for publication of such documents as *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India, Archivo da Relação de Goa, Archivo Portugues Oriental, Assentos do Conselho do Estado* and a number of other publications, too numerous to be mentioned here. An archival ideal would have been to have the list and if possible the summary of each and every document in these important series of records. This would have improved the utlilisation of the documents.

Another important factor that was taken into consideration at the time of the reorganization of the Department of Archives, Archaeology and Museum since the year 1973, was the proper preservation of the archives on modern scientific basis.[33] This important aspect of the archives was totally ignored and probably considered for the first time in the history of Goa Archives and rightly so, as no research can sustain if the original documents are not available or in such state as no longer usable or readable.. Scientific preservation of records was

a prime requirement in Goa archives where the records were in a deplorable state. Unfortunately the realization dawned very late on the archival authorities, resulting in a loss of thousands of documents either by ink corrosion or charring. We have lost the valuable information in these priceless documents owing to our apathy and ignorance of scientific preservation of records. The paper based manuscripts need protection from the ravages of time and various other factors of deterioration of paper such as high humidity, temperature, acidity in the paper caused due to the inferior quality of paper and use of harmful chemicals in the paper manufacture as also the acidic nature of the gallic ink used.[34] The human and other biological factors such as breeding of microorganisms, other insects and pests in the records have also contributed to the deterioration of the paper manuscripts in Goa Archives.[35] The extent of the damage already caused is so high that we are on the verge of losing entire series of records as the manuscripts in some of the volumes have fallen to pieces or completely ink corroded.[36] The concern for the loss of documents due to decay is found in the records themselves. A manuscript in *Monções do Reino* by one Luiz Gonsalves Cotta complained in the year 1688 that he was unable to gather some information from the Secretariat archives because many old books had been damaged with time and others were rotten as a result of rain water that had seeped in.[37] The problems of deterioration of the paper due to acidity and other factors are not limited to Goa archives only but are universal. Many scientific techniques to counter the ill effects of different factors of deterioration of paper have been devised , which have resulted in giving a fresh lease of life to the decaying manuscripts. The benefits of intensive research work in the study of the deterioration of paper and application of the new techniques in archives preservation were not available to Goa Archives till the year 1973 to the extent desired possibly owing to the lack of scientific fervour among the earlier archivists. The Preservation Unit of the Directorate was incepted in the year 1973. The writer is perhaps the first person to incept the modern preservation facilities in Goa since 1973 with all technically sound practices of preservation and endeavour to deal with problems of preservation of paper manuscripts.[38]

Dr. P. S.S.Pissurlenkar was the first Archivist who realized that the health and well-being of manuscripts is of prime importance which is evidenced from his efforts of getting each and every folio from the volumes of *Monções do Reino, Reis Vizinhos* and other important series properly treated with the weak ones reinforced with tissue

papers and even chiffon in some cases. The manuscripts were neatly bound in leather volumes with gold embossing on the spines. The work of repairs was probably done during a period from 1953 onwards and was creditable as it improved the appearance and aesthetic value of the volumes.[39] However, regrettably the repairs done to the documents with acid containing tissue and the traditional maida flour paste with Blue Vitriol or Copper sulphate as an insecticide has done more damage to the actual documents over a period of past 50 years.[40] Most of the documents with increased level of acidity have turned brown, brittle and the writing on them is no longer legible. The bindings of the manuscripts too were also not upto archival standards as in many cases it cuts through the writings which is highly undesirable. The intention was genuine but the results owing to the ignorance of scientific techniques of archival repairs have proved more injurious than ameliorating the health of the document.[41] A crash programme to salvage all these documents by stabilizing them with various techniques of deacidification and also pursuing a vigorous transcription and translation policy is the present need as there would be no archival documents in the years to come for the scholars to carry on their research.

During the past three decades however, the writer was partly successful in introducing many a modern techniques in preservation of archives. Good house-keeping habits with good ventilation in the repositories and maintaining them free of dust and sufficiently sterilized to check the breeding of any injurious insects, pests and microorganisms have been practiced and today it is to the credit of the Preservation Unit that the repositories are virtually free from any damage due to biological factors. The Unit has also been carrying out deacidification of thousand of documents and if necessary reinforcing them with specially imported acid free, long fibre, anti fungus tissue paper by modern techniques of lamination. The use of blue vitriol laced maida paste was discontinued long ago and the documents repaired with new synthetic adhesives have shown good keeping qualities. The documents repaired in 1973 employing new improved techniques do not show any signs of further deterioration. The Preservation Unit also introduced the use of time tested high quality repair material like handmade papers and synthetic adhesives like Sodium salts of carboxy Methyl celluloses or Hydroxy Methyl Celluloses. The department has also installed modern equipment for sterilization of the infested documents and also for repair and binding processes.

Another area which has recorded significant growth in Goa Archives is in its reprographic and duplication services. From the year 1973 onwards the Preservation Unit of the Directorate embarked upon a policy of preservation of the age old documents in microfilm forms. Modern equipments like high resolution cameras, film developing, duplicating and testing equipments were installed in the premises for pursuing the policy of preserving the documents. The Department was also successful in extending the services of microfilming and issuing photocopies to the public for general use and to research scholars . The Directorate today boasts of microfilming facilities of international standards and over the past two and half decades thousands of research scholars the world over have availed of these facilities by obtaining lakhs of exposures from the documents of the Goa archives. Thousands of photocopies were also prepared from the documents such as Birth registers, Notarial deeds, Court files and Land Registration Volumes. However, the only drawback in this Section is the acute dearth of technical persons for vigorously pursuing the programmes of putting all the important series of records on microfilms. This would have been an worthy achievement in archives preservation as thousands of manuscripts which are in unusable state at this point could have been at least saved in the form of microfilms. The development of microfilming facilities is however an achievement of the Directorate during the past decades.

Another recent achievement of the Directorate is its foray in the Computerization/digitalization of the archival records which are fast deteriorating. The Directorate is equipping itself to undertake the mega project of digitalizing all the records in its custody which would be then preserved for posterity in digital form and also made available to the scholars or other inquirers without actually leafing through the original volumes. If the project goes well then the main purpose of salvaging the documents would be served and who knows with the advancement of digital technology in future the researcher can get the information he needs from his P.C. at home. This would encourage better utilization of the rich source material in Goa archives and the realization of this project would be the culmination of the dream of every Archivist and scholar.

The writer acknowledges the guidance and valuable suggestions by Dr. S.H.K.Mhamai in updating the information in this article.

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